

EAST EUROPE

A Monthly Review of East European Affairs

China's Ally in the Balkans —

ALBANIA'S PARTY CONGRESS

A Polish Philosopher on Marxism and Life —

TWO ESSAYS BY ADAM SCHAFF

Hungarian Writing —

A STORY BY FERENC SANTA

A POEM BY GYULA ILLYES

A Visit to Bulgaria's Riviera —

RED RED CARPET

"One Small Car"

György Lukács

Party Leader Enver Hoxha

"A Letter to Mme Z."

**The New Soviet Ruble
Through Yugoslav Eyes**

APRIL 1961

35 CENTS

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EAST EUROPE

Formerly NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

CONTENTS

THE MONTH IN REVIEW	1
MAVERICK IN THE BALKANS	3
MEN IN THE NEWS: ENVER HOXHA	6
ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF MAN—by Adam Schaff	8
RED RED CARPET—by Barbara R. N. Wald	13
FACTS AND FIGURES: THE NEW SOVIET RUBLE	18
EASTERN EUROPE OVERSEAS	19
TWO HUNGARIAN WRITERS	21
ONE SMALL CAR—by Peter Halasz	24
GYÖRGY LUKÁCS—by Gyula Borbándi	32
THROUGH YUGOSLAV EYES	36
A LETTER TO MME Z.—by Kazimierz Brandys	40
CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS	46

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THE MONTH IN REVIEW

ROMANIAN REORGANIZATION

IT IS YET TOO early to evaluate at length the governmental reorganization in Romania, but certain aspects of it may be pointed out. First Party Secretary Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, in also taking on the position of chief of State, is diverging from the general practice of the bloc. Only Antonin Novotny in Czechoslovakia holds both these posts. Nikita Khrushchev, it is true, is both First Party Secretary and Premier (not chief of State), but that exhausts the list of two-hatted leaders. Such a move would seem to represent a further entrenchment of Gheorghiu-Dej's power.



ALBANIA

THE BASIC REASON for the extensive change is doubtless the regime's desire to raise the efficiency of a government operation which is probably as feckless as can be found anywhere in the bloc. Wags have suggested, however, that the shift is meant to fortify Romania against a coming invasion of Albanians passing through on their way to seize Moscow. For the Albanian anomaly, in which that miniscule patch of crags and marshes is displaying ideological defiance of Moscow in espousing the Chinese position and tone, continues. It more than continues, it flourishes. There have been recent reports that several Albanian officials have been seized by the regime as Soviet agents. Short of an open declaration that Khrushchev is the anti-Marx, the Albanians could go little further.

The Soviet bloc has, publicly at least, been displaying remarkable patience with Tirana (and with Peiping). Recently, however, the façade cracked. In an article in *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, the international Communist theoretical publication, a Czech writer, after a routine scolding of the Yugoslavs for their "nationalism," went on to say: "Nationalist prejudices may be manifest in various forms and serve to nourish not only right opportunist views [i.e., the Titoists—Ed.] but also dogmatic 'ultra-left' opinions, no matter how 'revolutionary' they may superficially appear. The Marxist-Leninist Parties are unanimous in the conviction that the struggle against the survivals of nationalism, whatever the form they may take, is one of the important tasks for Communists."

It may be no particular skin off Mao Tse-tung's ideological nose to be spoken of as the same order of heretic as Tito, but for the Albanians who rant on against the Yugoslavs ("running dogs and lackeys of imperialism"), there could be no crueller thrust.

More than by such name-calling, the Chinese must be upset by such Soviet actions as the sale of aircraft to India for use in ferrying troops and equipment to the Chinese-Indian border. The negotiations for this purchase started some months ago, but the situation was newly dramatized in March: a Chinese soldier was captured by

Indian forces three and a half miles inside Sikkim territory, while a group of Soviet experts prepared to go to India to help on the utilization of Soviet-built helicopters in defending just that area.

CHURCH AND STATE

IN POLAND, the decline in relations between the regime of Wladyslaw Gomulka and the Catholic Church of Cardinal Wyszynski, which has been going on for some time, has suddenly accelerated. There have been charges and counter-charges: Gomulka accuses the Church of meddling in political matters at the direction of the Vatican, while Cardinal Wyszynski accuses the regime of repression. These accusations are not new, but the tone of acrimony has grown suddenly much sharper. It is difficult to believe, however, that the regime seriously wishes to exacerbate relations with the Church at this time, just before the April 16 election. Gomulka had the Church's support in the 1957 election and he surely desires it now. Indeed, there is evidence that the Party leader's attacks on Vatican policies were meant to be placatory, to shift blame for positions of which Gomulka disapproves (the Church's opposition to birth control, for example) from the Polish Church to outsiders. This attempt, of course, was a failure. However, if the regime is going to react to the extremely bitter attacks of the Cardinal it is probable that it will do so only after the election.

POLISH THINKERS

DESPITE SUCH manifestations as heightened Church-State opposition and increasing State control of journalists and writers, Poland still remains, as it has since 1956, unique in the bloc. This was highlighted recently by the words of two prominent Poles, bringing into question dogma which is everywhere else in the Communist world untouchable. One of them was Adam Schaff, Professor of Philosophy at Warsaw University, member of the Communist Party Central Committee and long a major spokesman for the Communist establishment. In a series of articles on Marxist philosophy he lauded the triumph of Marxism over other schools in Poland (a triumph admittedly secured by "administrative methods"—i.e., force) but went on to say that Marxism had failed to grip the imagination of the young. This, he said, was because it makes no attempt to deal with individuals and ultimates, because it ignores questions such as "What is the purpose of life? Is life worth living?" Marxism, he concludes, must take up these questions and find answers to them lest it concede important territory to competing philosophies.

The other break with orthodoxy came from Julian Hochfeld, a sociologist and formerly a prominent Polish Socialist, for many years now a Communist member of Parliament and as such one of the clearest voices in the 1956 thaw. He has written an article called "Sociology, Historical Materialism and Ideology" in which he asserts that sociology is a full-fledged science (it is not, of course, admitted as anything but a bourgeois hoax anywhere else in the bloc) and, further, that whatever the ideology of the sociologist, be it Marxist or otherwise, that ideology must not be permitted to obtrude on his scientific work. "The conscious ideological engagement of a scientist, such as is required by both Marxists and others, need not necessarily mean that the ballast of mystifications must be taken into sociology or that there must arise theoretical systems whose structure is determined by non-scientific elements so that their scientific significance and import remain inaccessible to those fond of other values."

There could be no clearer contradiction to the orthodox view that elevates ideology above all. For a Communist, in a Communist country, to demand unideological objectivity in science, and in sociology of all sciences, is really to add a new voice to the discourse of man.



A Yugoslav comment on the cult of Hoxha and Stalin that pervaded the recent Albanian Party Congress. Leader Enver Hoxha observes: "After twenty years, Joseph, only you and I are left."

Borba (Belgrade), February 26, 1961

Maverick in the Balkans

The Albanian Communist Party, which has favored Mao rather than Khrushchev in the secret conclaves of world Communism, recently gave defiant notice that it will continue to do so.

THE FOURTH CONGRESS of the Albanian Workers' (Communist) Party, held in Tirana on February 13-20, was treated with unusual coolness in the other countries of the Soviet bloc. The fraternal Parties were represented by relatively minor figures—the head of the Soviet delegation was Petr Pospelov, an alternate member of the Presidium of the Central Committee—and the press coverage throughout the bloc was brief to the point of virtually ignoring the Congress. This singular treatment arose from Albania's open alliance with Communist China in the latter's ideological struggle with Moscow, an alliance which was displayed throughout the proceedings in Tirana.

Stalinism at Bay

The atmosphere at the Congress was reminiscent of the time of Stalin, whose portrait looked down from the walls along with those of Marx, Engels and Lenin. "Our Party," said Premier Mehmet Shehu in opening the Congress, "is formed monolithically around the Central Committee, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha—the founder of the

Party and the valiant leader of our Party and people." There were the usual tirades against Yugoslav "revisionism" and the "hostile policies" maintained by the Yugoslav leaders toward Albania, and Shehu made much of Albania's geographic isolation:

"Our country is building Socialism while geographically encircled by imperialism and revisionism. The imperialists and the revisionists have done and will do their utmost to turn this geographic encirclement into an economic blockade and make effective the political isolation of our Socialist country. However, they neither have been able, nor will they be able, to achieve this aim, because imperialism is no longer the master of the world and because Socialist Albania is not alone."

There was a quasi-military atmosphere at the Congress, expressed in continued assertions of unity against a hostile world, allusions to the difficulties confronting the Party as it manned "our Bolshevik bastion" against encircling enemies, and in the oft-repeated slogan: "In one hand a pick and in the other a rifle." Shehu declared that the Party's unity had survived many "traps, plots, intrigues and

crimes" organized against it by the "imperialists and revisionists."

"Our Party's road has been and continues to be difficult, very difficult. But the more difficult it is, the more victorious it is. Our Party was born in the fire of struggle. Its mother and father were the people; its school was the battle; its teachers were Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. . . .

"Today our fighting slogan—'In one hand a pick and in the other a rifle'—terrifies the revisionists. They would prefer us to hold a white flag, the sign of capitulation, instead of a rifle. If we did this we would dig our tomb with our own pick, we would dig the tomb of Socialism. No, the pick which is the symbol of our work will not be used to dig our tomb, but to build Socialism and to bury all those who would dare touch our Socialist fatherland and who will be liquidated by our rifle."

Although the Soviet Union was praised in extravagant terms as a "dear and beloved friend" and as the "head of the Socialist camp" (a term which Moscow no longer insists upon), the statements relating to foreign policy were couched in Chinese accents. They showed that the Albanian regime was determined to maintain its intransigent attitude in foreign affairs despite Moscow's evident disapproval (see *East Europe*, March, p. 1). Party chief Enver Hoxha declared in his address that while his regime supported "peaceful coexistence," peace could not be assured "by making concessions or showing flattery toward the imperialists." He also echoed the Chinese in asserting that President Kennedy was "following the course of his predecessors, the course of Eisenhower, of cold war, of the armaments drive, of pressure and blackmail." The high point of his speech was the revelation of a plot by Yugoslavia, Greece, NATO and the US Third Fleet, in conjunction with "some Albanian traitors," to overthrow the Albanian People's Republic:

"I can tell the Congress, the people, and the Party that these two neighboring countries, Yugoslavia and Greece, in collaboration with some Albanian traitors, who were either in our country or have taken refuge in Yugoslavia, and, in cooperation with the US Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, some months ago organized an attack against Albania with the aim of wiping out the Albanian People's Republic. The criminal plot failed completely. The details of the plot and all the proof are in the hands of the people's justice. This odious plot failed because our heroic Party, our people, our army and the security forces of the State were guarding, vigilantly as ever, the defense of the country and people."

Economic Development

IN OTHER RESPECTS the proceedings at the Congress followed the standard pattern of all such gatherings. The chief items on the agenda were a review of internal developments since the last Congress—which met in May 1956—and a report on the draft of the Third Five Year Plan (1961-1965). The Party's domestic goals were summarized by Hoxha as "the transition of our country from a technologically backward, semi-feudal State directly to the stage in which Socialism is built, bypassing the stage of industrial

capitalism." He said that the "Socialist sector" of the economy now included 99 percent of industrial production, 100 percent of wholesale trade, 90 percent of retail trade and more than 80 percent of agricultural production. Since 1955 the Communists had virtually completed the collectivization of agriculture; whereas in that year only 14.5 percent of the cropland belonging to the peasants was in collective farms, in 1960 the percentage reached 83.2 percent, or more than 86 percent of the total arable land. Remaining outside of the collective farms are only mountainous lands considered unsuitable for collectivization.

In developing Albania's economy, the chief emphasis in past years has been on the exploitation of mineral raw materials which are exported to the USSR and other Communist countries. Hoxha stated that in the last five years more than 250 important economic and social-cultural projects had been completed, including the Karl Marx hydroelectric station, oil refineries in Stalin and Cerrik, a coal mine in Alarup, copper mines in Kurbesh, ferro-nickel mines in Pishkash and Cervanaka, and chromium mines in Tropoja and Martanesh. He did not mention the fact that most of these projects had been financed with the aid of credits from the other Soviet bloc countries. Precise figures on the performance of the Albanian economy are lacking. Hoxha asserted that the Second Five Year Plan (1956-1960) had been—in general—fulfilled ahead of schedule. "Thus . . . the gross industrial output allotted . . . for the 1956-1960 period was reached in four years and nine months. The output of the mining industry was achieved in four and a half years, while the level of industrial output provided for 1960 was reached a year ahead of schedule." The agricultural targets, on the other hand, were underfulfilled, with gross production during the five years only 76.5 percent of what had been planned. This was ascribed to bad weather during the last two years.

The Five Year Plan

The program for the next five years, in the form of draft directives for the Third Five Year Plan, was outlined by Premier Mehmet Shehu. "The main task of this phase," he said, "is the complete building of the material and technical basis of Socialism. With the Third Five Year Plan we enter the road of development from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial and agrarian nation with our final aim being to transform our country into an advanced industrial country." The Plan emphasizes the further development of "heavy industry"—which in Albania has meant chiefly the production of minerals and raw materials. Shehu said that the country will now undertake, in addition to the opening of new mines, the establishment of manufacturing industries such as chemicals and metallurgy. On the boards are: several factories for processing chromium and other ores, a fertilizer factory at Fier to be built with Soviet aid, a chemical factory at Lac to be built with Czechoslovak aid, a new coal mine near Tirana, an iron-nickel mine at Prenjas, a new copper mine, two new timber combines, a cement factory "and a number of other factories to be constructed with the aid of the Soviet Union."



"He comes from the Albanian 'peace zone'."

"Why is he armed?"

"Why, because he wants to extend the 'peace zone'."

Borba (Belgrade), February 26, 1961

Total industrial production is to increase 52 percent over the five years, at an average annual rate of 8.7 percent. Agricultural production is to increase 72 percent, with some expansion of the arable area. Total investment during the five years is to equal that of the previous ten years. National income is to rise by 56 percent, retail trade by 38 percent, real wages of non-agricultural workers by 30 percent, and real wages of the peasantry by 35 percent.

Party Changes

The Party of Enver Hoxha, founded only 20 years ago during the Italian occupation of Albania, seems now to have become the personal vehicle of its leader. If any dissenting elements remain in its well-purged ranks there was no evidence of them at the Congress. Hoxha announced that the Party numbers 53,659, including 2,857 candidate members—an increase of 5,015 since the Third Congress. The number of "workers" in the Party was stated to have risen from 19.7 percent of the membership in 1956 to 29.65 at present—the rest presumably being peasants or intelligentsia. No important changes were made in the top leadership at the Congress. The Politburo was expanded from nine to eleven members by promoting two former candidate members. One candidate member, Rapo Dervishi, was dropped from the Politburo but remains a member of the Central Committee; two new candidate members were added. The Party Secretariat remained unchanged. The Central Committee was expanded from 40 to 53 full members by the promotion of 13 former candidate members. The ranks of candidate members of the CC were increased from 22 to 29.

What the Others Said

THE REPRESENTATIVES of other East European countries who attended the Congress had to utter certain courtesies on behalf of the fraternal Parties, but they all re-

frained from praising Enver Hoxha and were careful to say nothing that could be construed as support for his international position. The Czechoslovak Rudolf Barak, for example, referred to "the universal mutual cooperation and unselfish help granted to Albania on the basis of proletarian internationalism by the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries." As if he were exhorting a wayward child he added his conviction that "the Congress of the Albanian [Party] will be guided in the spirit of the fighting tradition of the Albanian people and the resolutions of the [December] Moscow conference, by the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, and will lay out a road on which the Albanian Communists will firmly march at the side of the other Communist Parties and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to new victories for Socialism and Peace." (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], February 19.)

The delegate from Romania also forbore to mention Hoxha's name and stressed the need for all Parties to apply the theses of the Moscow declaration and to fight against "all deviation from and deformation of creative Marxism." (*Scinteia* [Bucharest], February 19.)

The editors of the Soviet bloc worked over the speeches of the Albanian leaders with a heavy blue pencil. Moscow's *Pravda*, February 16, censored all of Hoxha's references to the "defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism," and such claims to infallibility as, "The Albanian Party has always had and still has a correct Marxist-Leninist view of the character of our epoch." The pencil was also applied to the intemperate attacks on "imperialists," and particularly to the mention of "US provocations" and denunciations of President Kennedy, as well as to the statement that "Albania is the only country building Socialism in the conditions of hostile capitalist encirclement." The Albanian criticisms of Yugoslavia were also toned down, and the alleged conspiracy by Yugoslavia, Greece, NATO and the US Sixth Fleet was wholly deleted.

The Yugoslav Protest

Belgrade was understandably aroused at the Albanian charges. *Borba*, on February 22, described the atmosphere in Tirana in these words:

"More than enough soldiers, Stalin's pictures, self-praise, staged ovations to an Enver proclaimed the founder of the Party, a sea of slanders, inventions and warlike cries against Yugoslavia, strutting adherence to the Warsaw Pact, oaths of allegiance to Marxism, and threats everywhere."

The Belgrade press was openly contemptuous of Moscow's attitude of forbearance, decrying the notion that "unity can be preserved by slogans about it, that dogmatic concepts will disappear in the common noise about the dangers of an invented Yugoslav revisionism."

The Yugoslavs also saw in the alleged Yugoslav-NATO plot a pretext for an Albanian purge in the not-too-distant future. Hoxha's dark comments about certain Albanian "traitors" were thought to presage a return to the show trials common in Eastern Europe during the Stalinist era.

To Western observers the Soviet attitude toward the strange proceedings in Tirana suggested that Moscow was loath to take any direct action against Hoxha and his supporters for fear that the consequences might be even worse. If Hoxha were shoved from power, would he have a successor other than chaos? And would that successor be a retainer of Moscow or of Belgrade? For if the sounds in Tirana were those of twentieth century Marxism, the political reality seemed to bear more resemblance to an old-fashioned personal fiefdom.

After the Congress

In the weeks since the Congress ended, there have been indications that the differences between Tirana and Moscow are no longer merely verbal. Early in March, sources

in Belgrade reported that two Albanian officials had been jailed on charges of spying for the Soviet Union. The men were Sufret Metani and Ismet Jako, officials of the Foreign Ministry, who were accused of passing secret documents about the Party Congress to a Soviet Embassy attache in Tirana. (*The New York Times*, March 5.) Later in the month, Belgrade sources also reported the arrest of Liri Belishova and the disappearance of her husband, Maqo Como. Mme Belishova had been a member of the Party Politburo until her expulsion last September, and her husband was formerly Minister of Agriculture and a member of the Party Central Committee. It was also reported in Belgrade that Moscow had dispatched a circular letter to the East European Parties asking them to study the Albanian situation and decide on a course of action. (*The New York Times*, March 19 and 20.)

Men in the News

Enver Hoxha



Bashkimi (Tirana), June 23, 1958

WHEN NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV descended on the UN in September 1960 with an entourage of East European Party bosses, one of them was prominently missing: Albania's long-time Stalinist ruler, Enver Hoxha. Whether Hoxha had remained in Tirana at his own request or at Khrushchev's was never revealed. He was represented in New York by Premier Mehmet Shehu. The latter, however, was noticeably shunned by his colleagues for reasons that were not difficult to decipher, and little doubt remained that, ever since the June meeting of Communist leaders in Bucharest—a meeting which Hoxha also did not

attend—his country had become a growing thorn in Moscow's substantial side. The cause was Albania's continued support of the Chinese in the fast-emerging but officially soft-pedalled Sino-Soviet policy dispute.

No man to be intimidated easily, Hoxha reportedly reiterated his pro-Chinese stand again in November, at the month-long meeting of the 81 Communist Parties in Moscow. Although the various Communist organs issued scant information on the discussions that took place, reliable sources claim that Hoxha not only opposed Khrushchev's policy of "peaceful coexistence" but even criticized the So-

viet Union for unwarranted interference in his country. In doing this, Hoxha obviously was taking a long political gamble—perhaps the longest in his career—and the stakes were his own political and personal survival.

Leaving aside the practical considerations that may have impelled Hoxha to this course, it can be said that his espousal of the militant and harsh anti-Western Chinese cause eminently suits his character. Tyrannical by temperament, Hoxha has held Albania under an iron thumb, mercilessly silenced any whisper of opposition and, despite recent changes elsewhere in the Soviet orbit, made as few concessions to de-Stalinization as he could conceivably allow.

Between 1946 and 1953, Hoxha simultaneously held such posts as Premier, Secretary General of the Party, Politburo member, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of People's Defense, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and President of the National Liberation Front. Although he relinquished some of these offices after Stalin's death, he stopped short of rehabilitating purged Titoist leaders and, from all indications, hardly slackened the reins of control. His drive for power has, in fact, been unmatched by any other Communist leader in the area, and through a combination of ruthlessness, vindictiveness and sheer political acumen he has eliminated from his path all potential competitors.

This facet of Hoxha's activity—which has included the voracious consumption of his former friends—recently received attention in the Yugoslav press. Referring to Hoxha's terrorism, *Borba* (Belgrade), February 22, pointed out that of the 14 Albanian leaders prominent during the war, Enver Hoxha is the only one who remains. Of the 31 members of the Party Central Committee in the 1944-48 period, 14 were liquidated and only 9 remain. On the present 43-member Central Committee, there are 5 married couples and some 15 brothers-in-law and other relatives. One of the members is Hoxha's wife, whom he married in 1945. Whatever the outcome of Hoxha's present conflict with the USSR, his Party shows a unity that transcends ideology.

Born to a middle-class Moslem family in Gjirokaster in October 1908, Hoxha became politically prominent during World War II, when he aided in the organization of an effective anti-Fascist resistance force and simultaneously helped forge a national Communist Party. His ties with Communism began in his youth, presumably during his six-year stay in Western Europe. In 1930 he received a State scholarship to the French university of Montpellier, where he studied natural science. When his scholarship was discontinued because of poor scholastic achievements (Hoxha, although known for his retentive mind and his command of foreign languages, was not a diligent student), he made his way to Paris, and there came under the influence of Valliant Couturier, then editor of the Communist newspaper *L'Humanité*.

In 1933, employed as a private secretary at the Albanian consulate in Brussels, Hoxha maintained clandestine contacts with the Communists and turned his attention to the study of law. His courses, however, were never completed. In 1936 he was recalled to Albania and took a position as

French teacher at the State Gymnasium in Tirana. Subsequently, he was transferred to the National Lycee in Korce. When, in 1939, he was slated for another transfer—this time to the secondary school in Gjirokaster—he refused to go, and in 1940-41 operated a tobacco shop in Tirana which became a meeting place for the Communist resistance.

Hoxha rose rapidly in the Communist movement. In November 1941, at the founding of the Albanian Communist Party in Tirana, Hoxha was elected a member of the provisional Central Committee and became provisional Secretary General. No sooner had this event taken place than the purge of dissident factions within the Party began. As a member of the Korce Group—the oldest and most important group in the Party—Hoxha played a leading role in the liquidation of members of the Shkoder Group and the so-called Youth Group, which was charged with "Trotskyism." Some years later, referring to this action, Hoxha characteristically stated: "The groups which had tendencies toward disunity were banished . . . all undisciplined elements, all anarchistic elements, all persons having their own safety in mind were purged without hesitation." Squeamishness is not one of Hoxha's traits.

In 1943, the Albanian Party held a meeting of its first "working committee" in Labinot and Hoxha's position as head of the Army and of the Communist-dominated National Liberation Movement (originally designed as an anti-Fascist organization) was confirmed. By 1944 the Movement was in control of a large part of the country, and non-Communist opposition groups had been liquidated; in May, a new provisional government was formed. In November 1944, Communist partisans captured Tirana and shortly thereafter the Communists seized political control. Enver Hoxha was named Premier of the new regime.

In the years that followed, purges continued both inside and outside the Party. The climax was reached after the Cominform's 1948 break with Yugoslavia, when Minister of Interior Koci Xoxe became the first notable "Titoist" victim of the bloc. Until that time, Hoxha had played along with the Yugoslavs, who were largely responsible for the foundation of an organized Albanian Communist movement and who, in the postwar period, had a dominant hand in Albanian affairs. That Hoxha took his stand with the Kremlin in 1948 can be explained not only by resentment of Tito's tutelage but also by the belief that an opportune moment had come to rid himself of his Albanian rivals. Since that time, Hoxha has remained more adamantly anti-Yugoslav than Moscow, and the possibility of a reconciliation with Tito seems dim.

People who have studied Hoxha's career claim that he has stayed on top by managing always to keep one step ahead of all factions and by letting no pang of conscience inhibit his lust for power. In contrast to Premier Shehu, who is described as honest in his fashion, not particularly intelligent, and physically brave, Hoxha is said to be thoroughly devious and amoral, a keen tactician who weighs the costs carefully before taking action. There is little doubt that he has weighed the price of his defiance of the USSR and has decided that Khrushchev will be the one to concede.

On the Philosophy of Man

"Please do not be angry, but could you explain the meaning of life from your own example, sir?" This question, addressed to the dean of Polish Marxists by a student at one of his lectures, is one that Communist intellectuals have always avoided as meaningless or reactionary. However, in Poland—if not also in the USSR—it has become increasingly difficult to pretend that the question is unimportant. "I must admit," says Schaff, "that the frequency and stubbornness with which this question is asked not only forced me to think about the problem but even made me change my own attitude toward it."

This led to several essays in the Warsaw weekly PRZEGLAD KULTURALNY. In the first, published on March 2, Schaff argued that unless Marxism pays more attention to the "problems of the individual" it is likely to lose ground to competing philosophies. In the second, published on March 9, he presents his own point of view which he calls "Socialist humanism" as distinguished from other humanistic philosophies.

HUMAN FATE AS A SUBJECT FOR PHILOSOPHY

WHAT IS THE meaning of life? Is man free in his decisions, when he chooses one of several possible manners of behavior? What does it mean—man is free in his decisions? What does the responsibility of an individual for his decisions mean, especially in controversial situations? How to behave in cases when each possible decision leads to effects which we evaluate as positive in certain aspects, but negative in others? What basis and what motivations has such an evaluation of actions? How should we live that our deeds may be evaluated positively? What is, as a result, the status of a human individual in society and the world around it?

These are just a few questions from a long list which in the eyes of some are a bunch of pseudo-problems and absurdities, devoid of the right of existence in philosophy; while for others they constitute not simply the core, but the unique rea-

son for philosophy. We do not have to seek far in history to find representatives of both diametrical attitudes. They appear simultaneously; at one pole—neopositivists, at the other—existentialists. One more dichotomous division of philosophical trends, in this case according to the subject of study. One more division which permits some philosophers to share the belief, not very flattering for their field, that the history of philosophy is a history of stupidity. Obviously, the position held by those proffering such views is automatically excluded from it, since it is believed to be the just one, obviously. Since such unflattering beliefs are widespread among philosophers in regard to other branches of philosophy on a mutual basis, one might reach the conclusion that they are all right. And to a certain extent, this is true. It would be advisable if each philosopher could cultivate a grain of skepticism, although I admit that this is a demand of a very high order.

The division which appears among philosophers in answering the above questions has its historical roots. In the many

divisions which we find among branches known to us in history, one of the more interesting ones is the division between the Ionic and Socratic philosophies. The names are obviously simplifications, although the two trends definitely stem from groups or individuals professing the two understandings of philosophy. The Ionic philosophers started—if we consider the circle of European culture—the trend which sees a subject for philosophy in the search for rights ruling the world in its various aspects. Socrates, on the other hand, introduced philosophy—as Cicero put it—under house roofs, finding a subject for philosophy in deliberations on how to live honorably. He was not the first in this respect, but he defended his concepts in an extreme fashion and his historic fame has justified giving his name to an entire trend. Both trends survive during the entire history of philosophy, although they rarely appear in pure form which would constitute an absolute negation of the beliefs of the opposing side. The example of neo-positivism, on the one side, and existentialism (especially that of Sartre),

on the other, is among the exceptions. But it illustrates very clearly what the dispute is all about.

Have the questions quoted at the beginning full rights from the point of view of philosophy, that is—is the trend of philosophy in which the fate of a human individual, his behavior under various circumstances and his evaluation of his behavior provide a subject for philosophical study—justified? This is the dispute in which we are interested here.

Let us look first at the question itself, to understand fully its intentions.

When we deliberate on whether or not the above questions are justified and reasonable—in the broad meaning of the word—we must at the same time realize in what context we are to solve this problem.

A Philosophical Question?

We can deliberate on the right of philosophy to submit such problems in view of their importance to man. Then it would be a question of ascertaining whether we are not dealing with a philosophic invention, a speculation set apart from human interests and needs. In this sense one speaks of the speculative and metaphysical deliberations of the type: how many angels can stand on a pinhead? However, there are no doubts that questions about the meaning of life or about freedom of decision in human acts are quite different, although answers to them often fly into clouds of speculation and metaphysics. The questions themselves are firmly grounded in the practice of human life and there are probably no problems more real to man than those assailing from all sides the problem of honorable life. If we accept this context and the criteria connected with it, then the questions asked above appear as certainly justified from the point of view of philosophy.

But one can approach the matter from another side, which is of interest mainly to the opponents of treating the fate of man as a subject for philosophy. The question might arise from real human worries and needs, it might be deeply rooted in practice, but is of such nature that it cannot be solved without exceeding the limits of scientific thinking. From the point of view of philosophy claiming the name of scientific, such questions are not justified, since they are poorly put and cannot be solved. This was the attitude of neo-positivists when they spoke of pseudo-problems and absurdities dressed up into grammatical phrases, when they counted ethics in the broadest meaning of the word among the emotional spheres



Professor Adam Schaff, Poland's leading Marxist philosopher, at a lecture in Warsaw. Poland (Warsaw), No. 5, 1959

of poetry placed beyond the confines of scientific deliberations. Let us have a closer look at this view and the arguments supporting it.

What does it mean, above all, that some philosophical attitude may be scientific as opposed to another which is non-scientific?

This thesis may be variously interpreted and rejected or accepted accordingly. An alternative arises: we accept the scientific form of a system depending either on the justice of its statements or on the methods of justification employed by this system.

In the first case there are two possibilities: statements of a system which is to be accepted as scientific must either contain absolute truth or relative truth, meaning partial truth corresponding to the historically conditioned development of human knowledge.

The claim of absolute truth was characteristic of the metaphysical systems of speculative philosophy. It is so contrary to the entire experience of the develop-

ment of science that no serious philosophical system defends it today.

When reducing the demand to the demonstration of relative truth (in the meaning explained above) of the theses of a system, we find ourselves in a situation in which it will be difficult to deny this relative truth in various theses of several systems (the dispute might arise rather as to the degree of adequacy of cognizance of the world) and even more difficult—in view of the general character of philosophical theses which are not subject to clear-cut solutions—to solve this dispute unequivocally. In any case, the definition of certain theses as unjustified on these grounds only smacks of subjectivism and is rather dangerous from the scientific point of view. And this is not what neo-positivists were after.

The second part of the alternative reduces the problem of scientific or non-scientific philosophy to the methods of study and deliberation employed by it. In case of philosophy this means above all the relation between philosophic gen-

eralities and the results of research of formulated knowledge. In the light of the history of the development of science only that philosophy can be evaluated as scientific which constructs its theses as generalizations of the research achieved by the sciences and is itself the theoretic and methodological foundation of these sciences. With this conception, philosophy maintains its scientific character even if its theses differ from the theses of another philosophical system—provided the requirement about the method is kept. The field for dispute is obviously enormous and therefore one should not expect uniformity of solutions. Nevertheless there are new perspectives of weighing the problem which interests us here.

Asking once about determination in the evolution of the material world, once about the meaning of human life, we ask about matters which are not only different (this is obvious), but differently solvable.

Yes and No

In the first case the matter of the attitude toward formulated sciences (that is to the research results of physics, biology, etc.) is decisive for the characterization of given philosophical statements as science. Anybody who might today afford the extravagance of the representatives of classic German philosophies who seriously believed that it was just too bad for reality if it did not conform to their philosophic theses—would certainly not be proclaimed a genius. In those matters scientific philosophy is a clear function of the development of sciences. Obviously, philosophic interpretations may vary, especially if the results obtained at a given stage in the development of sciences are equivocal and when certain links are missing in the passage from proven facts to philosophic generalization. The lack of those links is actually extremely characteristic and Russell is right when he states that where precision and provability begin—philosophy ends.

Is the same true when we ask about the meaning of life, free choice of behavior, the status of an individual in society, etc.?

Yes and no. Yes—when there exist scientifically proven data of concrete sciences. No—because the questions themselves have several meanings and are muddled, and besides it is not very clear which sciences should be asked for aid.

Does it follow that we might reject such questions as pseudo-problems since they are not in keeping with the criteria of science as required by deductive or formulated empiric sciences and even in the field of certain philosophic problems?

Not in the least. The fact that neo-positivists have asked to have the entire problem of ethics discounted as losses in the "pseudo-problems" column does not prove the unimportance of these problems, but rather the limitations of neo-positivism which as a trend of thought is characterized by combining the maximum of assurance and brash statements with a minimum of real and lasting achievements. Actually the banner of battle with metaphysics under which this trend once also marched against the problems of ethics has been fouled underfoot since even the former followers of the system today accuse it of metaphysics, and of a poor variety, at that.

So much for the sins of neo-positivism. The mistaken thinking is obvious. But in this case it is a question of problems other than those studied by the methodology of natural sciences, for instance, though it does not mean that they are pseudo-problems or unjustified ones. As long as people shall die, suffer, lose their loved ones, so long will the questions about the meaning of life have full rights—meaning in this case the value of life, or why an ending should not be freely put to human suffering. As long as people will be faced with conflicts in which a decision must be made and action undertaken (often when doing good to some we do harm—though unwittingly—to others) so long will questions be asked about how to live honorably and how to make decisions under similar circumstances. As long as people will try to reach their aims and encounter opposite aims in other people in the same society, so long will they ask about the limits of freedom of their choice and the relation between the individual and society. Etc., etc. These are other questions than those concerning, for instance, the problem of determinism in world evolution. The problems of research are different here, they are to be treated differently and solved differently. But it does not follow—let me repeat once more—that they are pseudo-problems or unjustified ones.

In other words: various questions may arise in philosophy and answers to them may vary and be differently motivated, differently generalized and include a different degree of probable truth, depending on the accumulation of factual science in the particular field. When the accumulation of science reaches a certain limit, when statements are provable through concrete research methods of the sciences, then generally the problem leaves the realm of the philosopher and becomes one for the sciences. In this way various problems and entire branches of sciences have fallen off the once common

tree of philosophy. If a philosopher later undertakes such problems—and he often has to do just that—he enters the realm of a given formulated science and finds it impossible to imagine a solution based on philosophic imagination (I do not mean here philosophizing on the borders of mysticism). Thus has disappeared, for instance, the whole branch of traditional *Naturphilosophie* which was a realm of conjectures *a priori*, even though even today philosophers are concerned with problems of the natural sciences, especially in their methodological aspects.

Keeping this reservation in mind, we must nevertheless state that each group of problems at an appropriate level of generalization can become a subject matter for one or another branch of philosophy. Equally as ridiculous as the attempts of certain existentialistic philosophers who forbid philosophy to concern itself with problems connected with natural sciences (which would consequently eliminate ontological and gnoseological problems) are the attempts of those philosophers who, under the influence of neo-positivism, would like to remove outside the boundaries of philosophy all the traditional ethical problems and accompanying problems of the individual and his fate. It is characteristic that both these extreme trends in their crusade call for a struggle against metaphysics, while being themselves deeply immersed in peculiar metaphysics. In both cases the crusade is doomed to failure since it is impossible to get rid of existing problems even with the most potent oaths.

Marxist Prejudices

This longish explanation devoted to the rights of human problems in philosophical studies is warranted by the widespread neo-positivist prejudices in the matter. Widespread also among Marxists.

As far as Marxists are concerned, there are two inhibitions involved: those coming from the outside, from neo-positivism, and those coming from the Marxist opposition to problems which for a long time have been the monopoly of the idealistic trend opposed to Marxism.

It has often been written that genetically as well as factually the philosophic analysis of human problems, and all the complicated ramifications thereof, lie squarely on the great road of Marxist tradition. Marxism historically started with this problem, and had to be directed toward it, if we understand the word Socialism correctly, that is as a problem of humanity. Within the framework of Marxist tradition it is not, therefore, a

question of the right to deliberate problems of the individual, but rather why those problems have been neglected in the development of Marxism.

There are at least two groups of causes involved here: (1) the pushing to a secondary position of human problems by the surging problems of mass revolutionary movement absorbing all forces, (2) the augmenting mistrust and dislike of these problems connected with increasing exploitation of them by politically and ideologically reactionary movements in the struggle against Marxism and the revolutionary movement. The first group of causes diminished as Socialism increased, the second—on the contrary—gained power with time. And a few remarks must be devoted to it.

The political and ideological evaluation of any phenomenon cannot correspond exactly to a spontaneous psychological reaction of like or dislike. Especially when we find ourselves in the field of scientific and philosophic analyses.

No scientific or philosophic problem can be dishonored either by its origin or by its use as an argument by the opponent. In the field of technology and natural sciences this is so obvious as to be trivial. Despite appearances, the matters are similar in philosophy and for that reason acting according to any other principles is a harmful irrationalism. If a philosophically important problem appeared initially within the framework of an idealistic philosophic system (as has often happened in history, especially in the case of problems connected with the active role of the intellect in the process of cognizance), the only conclusion arising from it can be that the problem must be transplanted as soon as possible to Marxist soil and thereby modified. By rejecting an important problem because of its idealistic genealogy, a materialist philosopher will only strengthen his opponent and weaken himself. The matter becomes even clearer when the opponent monopolizes—for one reason or another—the theoretical exploitation of problems. What does it prove if not that one has only been indolent and passive in that field? Why should one then blame the problem and not oneself?

It is true that the problem of the individual, and especially the freedom of the individual and his active role in social life, has been exploited by idealistic trends (and particularly by existentialism) which thereby objectively and subjectively attacked Marxism. But what should be the conclusion?

In the first place, that a mistake has been made in handing over to the opponent such an important and precious

problem by keeping silent on it or even slighting it.

In the second place, that this mistake should be made good as soon as possible, the neglected problems taken up as broadly as possible, and that for at least two reasons:

Primo: because it is necessary for a full reflection of the world in Marxist theory. This theory teaches us that the problem of the individual is solvable only against a wider social background and that the knowledge of the laws ruling social life is the necessary condition of the appropriate understanding and solution of this problem. But this theory has never said that the knowledge of the law of social development exhausts all problems of the individual. As long as people shall die and be afraid of death, as long as they shall lose their loved ones and fear that loss, suffer physically and morally (and this shall happen in some form or another as long as people shall live)—so long, next to knowledge of the consecutive changes of social forms, they will also demand knowledge of how they should understand their personal problems and how they should behave. *Each* theory which wants to offer a definite *Weltanschauung* must answer these questions, co-decisive in this *Weltanschauung*. The absent are losers and can blame only themselves.

Secundo: because the struggle for human minds which Marxism wages with idealistic trends may be won only when it takes up the controversial problems and offers its own, different solutions. Only such criticism—not nihilistic, but positive—is a truly effective criticism. If only because of that, and taking into consideration also the political implication of the dispute, Marxist philosophy should as quickly as possible and on as wide a scale as possible take up the problem of the human individual and his fate previously neglected by it and finding such social response.

ON THE MEANING OF LIFE

Only sociology and social psychology can explain why a philosopher today, and especially in encounters with youth, meets constantly with the question about the meaning of life. I must admit that the frequency and stubbornness in asking this question not only forced me to think about the problem but even made me change my own attitude toward it.

For many years I have specialized in the criticism of neo-positivism and I am still involved in it in various fashions.

Nevertheless, as so often happens, it is a trend among non-Marxist philosophic schools which is the closest to me in its way of thinking and its desire for precision of expression. For that reason it seems extremely important to me to criticize the faulty premises and false conclusions arrived at in various matters by neo-positivism. But I still share the dislike of neo-positivism for purely verbal speculation and metaphysics, which dislike—at least subjectively—once guided the founders of the “Viennese Circle.” I actually suffer when I hear muddled discourses on “the attitude of despair,” “the meaning of life,” etc. I mention this because at least as far as the “meaning of life” is concerned, I am ready for self-criticism. I have not changed my views on the muddled thinking prevalent in this area, but facts have persuaded me that a reply is necessary. The worst of philosophies is the philosophy of the ivory tower. Philosophy, if it is to have any social meaning, must answer to needs, to social requirements. If a problem is muddled, it should be clarified; if it is burdened with evil metaphysical traditions, it should be cleansed of those attributes. But to refuse an answer to a question which obviously troubles large numbers of people is clearly wrong. A philosopher who fails to notice the social demand for a concrete philosophical problem suffers the most painful of penalties—he becomes alienated from the atmosphere of the present and ceases to influence it.

There is no slightest doubt that there is a demand for an answer about the meaning of life. I well remember a meeting with students in the Jelinki settlement—after a lecture about *Weltanschauung*, questions were asked about ethics, above all about the meaning of life. When one of those present said suddenly: “Please do not be angry, but could you explain the meaning of life on your own example, sir?” I first thought: is he baiting the lecturer? But when I looked at the student and saw hundreds of pairs of young eyes watching me attentively, I understood: this is serious. It was confirmed by the silence in which my explanations were followed. I admit that I was thinking out loud and very feverishly. Until now I have rejected similar subjects as so much “blah-blah.” Perhaps since that evening I have come to accept it, or at least to accept the need to think it out and to offer an answer. Particularly as a Marxist and from the Marxist standpoint.

The criticism of neo-positivism as well as all other varieties of analytic philosophy does not exclude the acceptance of

some of their concepts. Among others, the one which is in pure agreement with the common-sensical premise that, in case of muddled questions, one must first ascertain through a study of statements what the question is all about and how it can be interpreted. Obviously this does not exhaust the matter, only constitutes a beginning. But it must be admitted that the analysis alone already introduces some clarity into the problem and constitutes a certain achievement.

Is Life Worth Living?

What is the intention of those, therefore, who without attempts at clarity, and often quite vaguely, ask about the meaning of life? There are two main interpretations of this question possible.

Whoever asks about the meaning of life asks—in the first place—about the *value* of life, that is, whether life is worth living or not.

An ancient question, whether the questioner is truly seeking practical conclusions from a negative answer to it, or whether he is asking to unburden himself in grumbling. The psalmist once said dolefully: "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." And the Stoics maintained that people should not be consoled because of the inevitability of death but—on the contrary—they should be persuaded why they should live.

However it may be, death is the main incentive for deliberations on the meaning of life: one's own threatening death and even more often the death of a loved one. Despite the fear which people doubtless have of their own death, they often feel much more strongly the separation resulting from the death of somebody close to them; man fears his own death as a possibility, in the case of the death of loved ones he has to face its awesome reality. Actually only through another's death does man come to realize his own demise as a reality. If he had to live in constant awareness of his inexorably approaching death, man would certainly lose his mind. A condition of normal life is the feeling of the passage of time (which is like flow of lifeblood from the veins) only under very special circumstances. Nikolai Kuzmich from Rilke's "Notes" has become unfit for living the moment he realizes the flow of time and its worth.

The question "is life worth living?" is suggested not only by death which through its inevitability puts in doubt all the efforts and attempts of the individual—if one's motives are studied from the point of view of individual life as the sys-

tem of appraisal and valuation. Also suffering, moral and physical—especially if it is undeserved—raises the question: what is the worth, what is the reason of suffering?

We now understand more clearly the motivation of this version of asking about the meaning of life which equals the question: is life worth living? But how can one answer this? What arguments to use to persuade others, too?

We are obviously interested in a positive answer, proclaiming the following belief: although death is inevitable, although suffering, especially that caused by death of loved ones, is inevitable, life is worth living and therefore we say that life has a meaning. But why? We are also obliged to answer this question, if we are to persuade anybody, if our answer is not to remain solely a personal feeling devoid of argumentation.

Now it appears with full clarity how slippery are the grounds on which we have to move and what is the difference in the manner of thinking not only in comparison with mathematical or empirical sciences but even in comparison with gnoseological or ontological problems based on concrete sciences. In deductive sciences we can speak about certainty, in empirical sciences about probability, which differs in the degree of motivation but is always based on facts. This is true, although to a different degree and in a different fashion, for scientifically conducted philosophy. The situation is quite different in the problem we are concerned with now: this is not the question of proving the truth or the falsity of a statement, but of appraisal, of valuation. And in this field the actual possibility of justified passage from description to evaluation is controversial. Actually, it is questionable whether a true description justifies automatically this or that evaluation. I do not intend to solve here theoretical problems touching on axiology, I want to bring to light the "otherness" of the problems which absorb us here and the additional difficulties arising from them.

A neo-positivist might shrug here and say that my statements and evaluations cannot be uniformly reduced to provable facts and that I am threatened by subjectivity of evaluation. And he would certainly be right. But at the same time he would be wrong if he should on this basis proclaim the matter a pseudo-problem and for that reason forbid me to look into it. In that case he would simply be taking as proven something which demands proving, he would accept *ex definitione* a criterion of reasonableness and

science which would do away with the problem in its initial stage.

In reality a philosopher deliberating, for instance, on the meaning of life acts differently than a philosopher concerned with methodology in natural sciences. He *must* act differently because it is dictated by the subject of his study. But this does not mean in the least that his manner of acting is inadmissible or actually non-scientific. He also is generalizing on factual experience, he also bases himself on data provided by sciences such as sociology, psychology, etc. But he acts differently—as we have said—because he does not simply describe but appraises and values. And in the matter of appraisal or valuation, there lies the problem of a scale of appraisals and of a system of values. Obviously, their choice is not free, it is socially conditioned. But social conditions do not end the problem. Other factors are included here, even psychological and physiological ones, connected with the *given* individual, introducing clearly the individual factor. This is actually repeated under various forms wherever there is a question of choice, also the choice of a view of the world. Thereby not only the intellectual factors but also the emotional ones are engaged, a subjective element enters the stage and that under a different form and on a larger scale than, for instance, in deliberations on the methodology of natural sciences.

The Scientist vs. the Sage

For that very reason the actual process of generalization is different here also: the distance from empirically stated facts to a philosophic generalization is greater and hence greater is the possibility of differences in interpretation and difference of views. In this field a philosopher acts more like the ancient sage, who deliberates on the subject of human life, than an experimenting biologist. Simply because the methods of an experimenting biologist are useless here: the field of study is different and (at least with the present level of science, although I actually doubt whether progress will change much in this respect) it is impossible to investigate it with mathematical or biological methods. Naturally, it is regrettable. I would also personally prefer to be able to say something more certain and more decisive in this field. Alas, it is impossible. But this sad fact neither cancels the problem nor diminishes its importance. And anyone who may be "offended" by its lack of precision and

(Continued on page 43)

Old houses in Nessebur.



AS THE FLAT, fertile farmlands flashed by, groups of harvesting peasant women looked up and waved at our shiny Skoda buses. The dark young man in the front who was struggling to be our guide began to speak again. He was thin and bony and without strength, and there were dark circles under his eyes.

"I confess," he said into the microphone as he looked at us with head lowered.

All the passengers, most of whom were British, were embarrassed. Whatever he was going to say would almost certainly be a violation of Anglo-Saxon reserve. Most of us wished he would just forget and allow us to look at the even, tranquilizing scenery. His English pronunciation was remarkably good, although he paused for long periods between words, as if he were reading a speech in dim light.

"I confess," he rasped. "I have failed. I was a poor guide. I have not shown you enough. Please, I want to be forgiven." Then he mixed up the words and repeated the same thing. I felt that someone should put arms around the frail shoulders and reassure him, but the little speech was so

THE RED RED CARPET

Notes on a trip to Bulgaria

by Barbara R. N. Wald



Some of the 17 new hotels that line the shore at Golden Sands, a Black Sea resort near Varna that has become the Riviera of Eastern Europe.

strange that we didn't know whether to interpret it as an individual aberration or a natural action consistent with a very different culture.

That was our first day in Bulgaria, and was our first naive exposure to a way of life which resembles Western culture superficially but which is as alien to it as a minaret. We realized that when the boy felt inadequate as a guide—as he certainly was—his reaction was not to flee the situation, or to take his own counsel or that of his intimates, but to throw himself on his listeners, whom he felt were his judges. We had very much the feeling that a big brother had been watching the boy for a long time—that he was probably anticipating in his own confession an account of his activities he would be obliged to give before a Balkan-tourist inquisition.

Our trip to Bulgaria was part of a tour organized in England to instruct interested laity in the superficial and more charming aspects of archeology. Apparently because of the current chic of visiting Communist countries the cruise deviated from the usual route following Ionic civilizations, and, with the excuse of Byzantine remains that were to be visited in Bulgaria, brought its load of pleasure-loving British into the Black Sea and the diaphanous lower segment of what we used to call the iron curtain.

The cruise ship had arrived at the Black Sea port of Bourgas in the middle of the night, and as we retired we were aware only of fresh breezes, which seemed politically indifferent, and the fact that the lights on shore were indeed incandescent, however few.

In the morning, the daylight was almost blotted out for us by the forecastle of a destroyer, which I assumed to be Russian, whose position announced clearly that it had come into the harbor after we had been moored. It hung over us like a threat. I was immediately tempted to take out field glasses and make careful observations which, somehow, one vaguely felt, the State Department would be grateful for; but it was hardly necessary since I could see

the white piping on the sailors' uniforms without even squinting my nearsighted eyes. As our fellow tourists came awake and dressed, they wandered onto the deck and gazed at the destroyer with a casual and deliberate furtiveness to disguise their interest in it. It was still quite early. The water was calm and a pale sun filtered through a bright mist. I strolled back to my cabin, unable to resist the lure of the field glasses there, and by scanning the harbor I was able to count three more destroyers, two submarines, and several smaller military craft of uncertain purpose or design. I had been looking through a porthole, and I now reached for the passenger list which I had not heretofore examined closely. I found four military men were on board with us, three of them retired, all of field rank, and two of them naval. I pointed this out to my husband and we wondered if we would, indeed, have been considered important enough to muster up so much naval hardware. Although we doubted it at the time, our subsequent experience in Bulgaria makes us suspect that this was the design.

We learned later that this was the first large British tour since the war that had ventured into Bulgaria. Smaller groups had landed and explored, but we were the first of any significant size (320 persons). We became gradually aware, and the obliquity is a credit to the Bulgarians, that we were apparently of real propaganda importance. The guide in the bus was just one of the small points in the curve that we could later draw to this conclusion. And of course, nothing could have pleased us more than to be walking along the red red carpet which the Bulgarians had been rolling out for us.

In Varna

Varna, the third largest town in Bulgaria, which was our first major stop, has the same dowdiness of other People's Republics we had visited. It lacks a kind of vitality. There are the accoutrements of a small European city of local

importance, with public buildings, small parks, and well-tended municipal gardens, and one expects the main square and the shops on it to be well decorated, attractive and expensive. Instead, they are dingy, severe, and utterly dull. The dresses hang limp and shapeless over cardboard boxes in windows otherwise bare of decoration. The bookshops display a few dusty volumes, most of them textbooks, a few of them translations of writers as *avant garde* as Shakespeare or Jack London. There is no attempt at all at display. The food shops feature a double row of cans, with the occasional flourish of a bottle of olive oil or a package of noodles. There is an obvious and profound indifference to sales appeal. We dislike neon as much as most people, but still one misses it in this drab square. The signs are wooden, the lettering crude, and dominating all are enormous posters of Bulgarian and Soviet Communist leaders which alone are floodlighted and which alone have color and vitality.

There are two or three cafes in the square in Varna. Each has sidewalk tables and each has the rancid odor of boiling chicken which is only tolerable when one is very hungry. The atmosphere is primitive, the filth of the tablecloth being the only advertisement, and this only of the large volume of trade. The waiters are more curious than assiduous. We ordered some *Varnenski Dimiat Euxinograd*, a pleasing local white wine, and suffered and enjoyed the curious stares. Soon we became conscious of the paucity of cars in the square. The cafe occupied the sidewalk almost completely and the passersby were walking unconcernedly around it on the street—back and forth, up and down, criss and cross. Once every now and again an automobile, usually of Czechoslovak make, would honk slowly through the populace.

But in the sidestreets, on our way back to the ship, we noticed the many new buildings which the Communists have built. Impressive apartment houses of modern construction, many of them with little balconies similar to the balconied housing developments one sees on the outskirts of Rome, presented themselves along the streets which face the port of Varna. Construction is mostly poured concrete, the lines thick and heavy.

On this walk, too, we were struck by the squat, round advertising poles which are so universal in Paris. Here the posters were at a minimum, and the colors lacked the brilliance of the Parisian Quin-Quina signs or the Cinzano advertisements. Yet a remarkably full opera and concert schedule was announced, removing, some, the feeling we had of grinding cultural monotony.

As our buses pulled up in front of the Cathedral of Varna, a nineteenth century edifice of indifferent mien, of which our guides seemed inordinately proud, I braced myself for what I supposed would be a disappointing sight. Yet nothing of the sort materialized. The rich decor of the interior was lighted by hundreds of candles, illuminating the gilded arabesques and the sumptuous coloring of the Neo-Byzantine style. Yet even more remarkable than the effect of these glittering candles was the music of which we became gradually aware. Despite the fact that this was morning, and a weekday morning at that, several priests,

adorned in full ceremonial robes, and a complete choir, similarly festooned, were chanting a magnificent Eastern liturgy. After the many gloomy Florentine churches we had seen in the past, where one practically has to be an acrobat or a contortionist to be able to pick out a Carpaccio from the dusky recesses and where little attempt is made to please the visitor, this remarkable performance at the Cathedral of Varna came as a surprise. It was another of the incidents which brought home to us how assiduously the Bulgarians were putting on the dog for us.

The Architects

IN THE AFTERNOON, we drove through well-tended farm lands to Nessebur, a picturesque little town situated on a peninsula which connects to the main land only by the narrowest isthmus of sand. The ancient Messembria, or town-in-the-sea, was founded by the Ionian Greeks in 513 B.C., according to Herodotus. It was an important strategic site throughout history because of its uniquely defensible coastal position. Today, it is a museum town. This was, archeologically, the climax of our Bulgarian visit, and our travellers began licking their whiskers in anticipation as the first crumbling ruins appeared on the horizon.

A fourteenth century gateway near the quay forms a fitting entrance to the charming medieval enclave. Of the forty-four Byzantine churches which once dominated the



Interior of a hotel room at Sunny Beach, another Black Sea resort.

small land-strip of Messembria, fifteen are visible today in various states of preservation.

The most distinctive feature of these churches is the richly varied and encrusted brickwork of the exterior walls. Many walls show signs of having been adorned with small green and orange mosaic-like tiles.

The churches are small in scale, as are most Byzantine churches (with the exception of a few such as Hagia Sophia in Istanbul and San Marco in Venice). One is struck by the characteristic alternation of brick and stonework, frequently in a herring-bone pattern. One of the few pieces of extant interior decoration is a beautiful wooden ikon, dating from the fourth century, which we spotted in one of the churches. A church named St. Spas, dating from after the Islamic conquest, seems to have been built half-underground in a naive attempt to escape detection.

Besides the beauty of the yellow and clay tones against the blue of the sky and the turquoise of the Black Sea, there was charm in the wooden nineteenth century houses which line the streets of Nessebur. The upper stories of these houses lean precariously over the street.

Leaning precariously over me was, suddenly, a huge Bulgarian lady architect with a great round red face and a breath suggesting that she habitually made a meal of pure garlic. She spoke a little English and considerable German and was anxious to be of help. Apparently politically trusted, she told us of plans to attend an architectural conference in England in 1962. She was soon joined by her husband, also an architect, whose presence, too, was supplied for our edification by Balkantourist. They attached themselves to us as our personal guides, and after a small interlude during which we made decent conversation about the local architecture, we cornered them into



One of the Byzantine churches in the ancient town of Nessebur.

a star-chamber discussion of Life In Bulgaria. They evaded questions concerning the economy and life as a whole, but stressed their personal satisfaction in being able to be creative in the restoration of Nessebur. They also told us that since the private practice of architecture could be sporadic and uncertain, their opportunity to practice without financial worries compensated for their regimentation in the field. We almost missed the outgoing bus because of their insistence on exchanging addresses. They were, throughout this little episode, almost overwhelmingly friendly. We certainly had the impression from these people and from our other Bulgarian contacts, that apart from Balkantourist's formal attempts at hospitality, the attitude among the people toward Americans, and toward the British too, is one of much curiosity and much spontaneous warmth.

First Resorts

THE NEXT day, we were to see a totally different side of Bulgaria—the ultra-modern Miami Beaches of Communist Eastern Europe. We visited the resorts of Slatni Pjassazi and Slunchev Briag—Golden Sands and Sunny Beach. The former, a large, completely government-built resort development, is situated on low rolling country immediately adjacent to a wide sandy beach which runs its way around a horseshoe-shaped bay approximately ten miles north of Varna. The buildings rising from this sand strip, which is about half a mile wide and full of delectable dunes, are mostly hotels, varying in style from brick barracks with lintels and pilasters to poured concrete supported by spaced columns. The gardens are noteworthy. Vegetation is naturally sparse, but the plantings are carefully arranged and profuse. Unlike Miami Beach, however, there are no flashing signs here, no neon, no honkey-tonk. No cha-cha-cha.

Balkantourist is smugly proud of the seventeen hotels, containing three thousand beds, and the five hundred bungalows which it has constructed within the past two or three years. To these meccas flock the worthy workers of the European Communist world. They come in careful consignments, rarely alone, and their expenses are paid. We met Czechs and Poles and East Germans and Hungarians sunning themselves in bikinis as skimpy as those that are to be seen at St. Tropez or Juan les Pins. Hotels are organized not by nationalities or by swank, but by trade. The good little journalists are allowed to go to one hotel, the nurses to another, the architects to another. And so forth. A parallel to this is the way some American resort facilities are beginning to be used by large trade unions.

Sunny Beach, another government-built vacation land, also has sprouted very recently these gleaming modern white resort accommodations. There is a certain coldness and sterility to the bare geometric structures. Yet they are obviously comfortable. Many of the rooms have small balconies which face the sea. The decor of the interiors is not unsuccessful. It tends toward the Danish or the Scandinavian in a tasteful, albeit spare, way. Plumbing and service seemed adequate but not plush.

After a sunny lunch at the Staria Dab Restaurant, one



One of the shining new concrete hotels at the Sunny Beach resort.

of the many outdoor restaurants which flank the strand, taken to the accompaniment of a small orchestra which played a jazzed up "Hail Britannia" for the benefit of the English and then bulldozed through a raucous rock and roll number in honor of the few Americans there (who were not flattered), we were herded into an outdoor theater and treated to a performance of Bulgarian folk dancing. The performance was quite delightful except for its heavily didactic narrative quality.

During the performance, I honored my obligation as a tourist by snapping half a roll of undistinguished Kodachromes of the dancers. The performance lasted for what seemed to be an excessively long period of time, and to avoid the strain upon my bottom I decided to walk around a bit and photograph the members of the cruise. This seemed to be a convenient place, gathered as they were in one spot and all facing in the same direction. As I walked about to gain a good vantage point to make my photograph, I found every good spot occupied by a number of Bulgarian photographers, presumably from Balkantourist, since the shutters clicked during the few humorous episodes of the dancing, so that tanned British smiles would appear in the picture under the sunhats and the parasols.

Following the performance, I found myself in a queue. For a moment I thought that this was the British displaying their national symbol to reciprocate the folk dances, until I realized that we were being required to enjoy more hospitality from Balkantourist in the form of a strangely flavored sweet soft drink and a very large quantity of soggy potato chips. I was unable to get such exotic fare down and left my peace offering from the Eastern world on the concrete steps of the amphitheater. As I wandered around waiting for the others to deposit theirs similarly, a small

Bulgarian, aged about seven, furtively approached it once, quickly drew away, looked about to see if he was being noticed, and approached again. As he stood for a moment watching the large bag of potato chips, I decided to relieve his anxiety, picked it up and handed it to him with what I thought was a warm smile of international goodwill. He fled. Fifteen minutes later, as the buses left the area, I was gratified to see him out of the back window, sitting alone on a concrete bench, with two bags of potato chips on either side, working at another on his lap with both hands.

Mistake

BY THE TIME our visit to Bulgaria was drawing to a close, I feel sure that most of us had formed a generally favorable impression of the country and the life—that the propaganda of Balkantourist had made its mark. The farms looked productive, the new buildings impressive. The service in the Cathedral, although obviously staged, made the religious aspect of life seem active and beautiful, and the Byzantine architecture of Nessebur was being restored with diligence by the State. The developments at Sunny Beach and Golden Sands were spectacular, and the folk-dance performance hinted of "the rich cultural heritage of Bulgaria" which the Communists took pains to acknowledge and stress. The pleasant aspects of Bulgaria had been brought home to us by a public relations organization that could outdo Madison Avenue. Yet, perhaps characteristically, the whole good impression was to be undone.

As we had entered the Black Sea on arrival, Bulgarian currency officials had come aboard to change our pounds and dollars into *stotinki* and *leva*, assuring us that any Bulgarian money which we did not spend would be changed back into pounds and dollars. Familiar with the currency patterns of other People's Republics, my husband and I sagely changed a minimum of dollars into Bulgarian currency, despite their reassurances. We were soon to see how right we were.

As we ascended the gangplank of the ship after our final foray on Bulgarian soil, it was apparent that British reserve had completely broken down. It turned out that the Bulgarian currency officials had "changed their minds." Only those of us who had exchanged foreign cash for Bulgarian currency could make the change back; those unfortunates who had used travelers checks to get *leva*, numbering at least half the members of the cruise, were simply out of luck. The carefully planned and lovingly executed "good impression," which for several days had been a fragile and growing thing, was shattered in one brash maneuver. Much planning and no little expense was involved in what was, surely, Balkantourist's rather massive attempt to gain friends and influence enemies. Yet, what had begun with a public confession of the inadequate guide, ended with the duplicity of the Bulgarian money changers. It had been a stimulating Bulgarian sojourn, but the carpet laid out for us so carefully had revealed a number of moth-holes. We still feel that when it comes to selling a non-existent item, Madison Avenue is smoother. But maybe that's insular.

Facts and Figures

Eastern Europe and the New Ruble

ON JANUARY 1 the USSR carried out what was in effect a devaluation of the ruble, although Moscow preferred to speak of it as "an increase in the gold content of the ruble." The change consisted of two measures: the introduction of a new "heavy" ruble for domestic transactions, equivalent to ten of the old rubles; and an increase in the gold content from 0.222168 grams for the old ruble to 0.987412 grams for the new ruble. Thus, while the new ruble is worth ten old rubles in domestic exchange, its gold basis has risen only 4.44 times (from 0.25 American dollars to 1.11); and what is superficially a positive move is in reality a devaluation.*

Western observers have been understandably confused as to the meaning of the maneuver, particularly as to its effect on the currencies of the Soviet bloc. Was it the beginning of an attempt to establish monetary convertibility among the Communist countries and to do away with the present bilateral system of trade? Would the currencies of the other countries be correspondingly adjusted? The official Moscow organ *Izvestia* has published two different sets of exchange rates with Eastern Europe, the first on January 1 and the second on March 3, which strongly suggest that there has merely been a mechanical adjustment to the new value of the ruble, leaving the currencies in precisely the same relationship as before the reform.

The first set of new rates (column two in the table below) was said to apply only to non-commercial transactions. Evidently the only calculation involved was to move the decimal point in the old non-commercial rate (column one) one place to the left in order to adjust for the ten-fold increase in purchasing power of the new ruble within the Soviet Union. For example, an East European visiting Moscow would obviously need ten times more of his own currency to exchange for the new ruble than he did for the old one. The second set of rates, published without any attendant explanation, was of a different sort (column four). Again, however, the arithmetic is straightforward, merely reflecting an adjustment of the old official exchange rate used in trade transactions to the higher gold content of the new ruble (column three divided by 4.44 equals column four, disregarding errors in rounding).

* This becomes clear from a simple comparison. Prior to January 1, the US dollar would purchase four rubles at the official rate of exchange, but at the tourist rate—a more accurate expression of relative purchasing power—the dollar was worth ten rubles. At the new official rate \$1.11 will buy one ruble, or the equivalent of ten old rubles in purchasing power. Thus the dollar is only slightly less valuable at the new official rate than it formerly was at the tourist rate.

If the January rates are to be reserved for non-commercial transactions and the second set for calculating payments in trading relations, clearly nothing has changed as a result of the reforms. In the case of the non-commercial rates, the adjustment is obvious; in the case of the commercial rates it is not so clear, since the observer falls afoul of the lumbering mechanism by which the Soviet-styled economies carry on their trading relations. Lacking a free market and a price system that reflects real production costs in the various countries, each currency is strictly internal; the price of a product in one country has no necessary relationship to the price of the same one in another. In consequence, the Communists have been forced to revert to average world prices (modified, it is said, to smooth out fluctuations which occur in the world market) as the only objective standard for negotiating the terms of trade among themselves. For purposes of balancing their accounts, the accepted prices, calculated in dollars, are translated into so-called "clearing rubles" at the official exchange rate.

Suppose, for example, that last year Poland bought a tractor from the USSR at an agreed value of \$2,500. The Soviet export organization paid the domestic producer a wholesale price of, say, 20,000 old rubles. Poland in turn

EXCHANGE RATE ADJUSTMENTS

[in rubles per 100 units of foreign currency]

	Old Non- commercial	New: January 1961	Old Official	New: March 1961
Albania (lek)	10.00	1.00	8.00	1.80
Bulgaria (lev)	112.36	11.24	58.82	13.23
Czechoslovakia (koruna)	86.20	8.62	55.56	12.50
East Germany (mark)	—	25.80	180.00	40.50
Hungary (forint)	71.42	7.14	34.10	7.67
Poland (zloty)	66.67	6.67	100.00	22.50
Romania (leu)	103.09	10.31	66.67	15.00

SOURCES: *IZVESTIA* (Moscow), January 1, 1961 and March 3, 1961; *MONITOR POLSKI* (Warsaw), January 30, 1961; *STATISTICAL HANDBOOK, 1959* (Sofia), 1960; *ROMANIA LIBERA* (Bucharest), January 3, 1961; and *MAGYAR KOZLONY* (Budapest), September 2, 1960.

paid the Soviet export organization 10,000 "clearing rubles," based on the old official exchange rate of four rubles to one dollar (\$2,500 times 4). This was equivalent to 10,000 Polish *zloty* at the old official exchange rate of one *zloty* to one ruble. Since the currency changes, Poland today would still pay the same amount of its domestic currency for the tractor. The calculations run as follows: the Soviet export organization now pays only 2,000 rubles to the domestic producer, but at the new dollar rate of \$1.11 to one ruble it receives about 2,250 "clearing rubles" from Poland (\$2,500 times .90). At the new Polish exchange rate of approximately 4.44 *zloty* to one ruble, the price would still be 10,000 *zloty* (2,250 times 4.44).

The only significant difference between the two transactions is that the Soviet export organization, instead of losing 10,000 rubles, now receives a profit of 250 rubles. The need to subsidize export losses from the State budget and to tax away excess profits from imports has been a long-standing anomaly in the Soviet trade mechanism. One of the stated objectives of the currency reform was to eliminate this problem by equalizing the average level of Soviet wholesale prices with the average level of world prices.

If, indeed, Moscow intends to maintain the same currency relations with the satellite countries as before, one conclusion is apparent: the Soviet bloc is no closer to convertibility and multilateralism than before. Communist experts are well aware that some objective price basis which reflects a real relationship between the value of goods produced in the various countries must be established within the bloc before much headway can be made toward integrating their economies. In the current situation, however, they are not very optimistic. One of the clearest statements to this effect was published in the Czechoslovak economic journal *Politická Ekonomie* (Prague), September, 1960. While maintaining that such a price basis is "theoretically possible," the author concludes, "it will not be possible to eliminate in the foreseeable future serious difficulties resulting from different wage and price policies of the Socialist countries since it would mean violating the general principles of their [individual] economic policy. This means further that, in the eventual transition of the Socialist countries to their own price basis in mutual trade, it will be difficult to apply the current methods of calculating production cost and the resulting price level of goods. . . ."

Eastern Europe Overseas

The East European Satellites have played a little-publicized but important part in the Communist drive to win friends and influence among countries that are not allied to the West. Trade missions, technicians and cultural delegations are in constant movement between the capitals of Eastern Europe and the "uncommitted countries." We give below a summary of the most important contacts made in the last month.

February 4 A team of Hungarian technicians under the terms of a one-year contract made with the Guinean government are carrying out tests on water supply resources in Guinea. (Radio Budapest.)

February 11 An economic cooperation and trade-and-payments agreement between Czechoslovakia and Cambodia was signed in Phnom Penh. (Radio Prague.)

February 12 A group of Czechoslovak experts left for Cuba to assist in the organization of antibiotics manufacture. A Cuban Health Ministry official arrived in Prague to study the organization of dentistry. (*Rude Pravo* [Prague].)

February 14 An agreement was signed in Prague between the Mali Republic and the official Czechoslovak

press agency CTK, according to which Czechoslovakia will aid Mali in the establishment of its own press agency and will also train Mali journalists. (Radio Prague.)

A Czechoslovak airliner left on the first flight on the newly established air route Prague-Zurich-Rabat-Dakar-Conakry-Bamako (Mali). This is the first direct air route between Central Europe and Africa. (*Pravda* [Bratislava].)

The Somali Republic's Minister of Education announced upon his return from a trip abroad that Czechoslovakia has agreed to build a technical institute for Somali and to take 40 Somali students for technical training in Czechoslovakia. (Radio Mogadishu, Somali.)

February 15 A 19-year-old Indian student from Calcutta has left the hospital after a successful heart operation (using an artificial heart-lung machine) in Brno,

Czechoslovakia. The operation was arranged and financed by the Communist-controlled International Students Union. (*Prace* [Prague].)

A group of Bulgarian architects and engineers was preparing to leave for Tunisia to assist in urban planning and development. (*Rabotnichesko Delo* [Sofia].)

Two Bulgarian films on artistic subjects were presented in the Damascus cultural center. (*Rabotnichesko Delo*.)

February 19 A three-year three-way trade agreement was signed in Paris between Romania on the one hand and France, the Malagasy Republic and other [unidentified] African states of the French Community on the other. The protocol for 1961 foresees a 30 percent increase in trade over 1960. Romania will export to France oil products, mechanical and electrical equipment, as well as some goods newly added to its usual export list: tobacco, cellulose, phenol, textiles and semi-finished iron and steel products. The African states will send raffia, coffee, woods and graphite in exchange for Romanian machinery and industrial equipment, furniture and textiles. (*Scinteia* [Bucharest].)

February 20 A trade union delegation from Cameroun arrived in Bucharest at the invitation of the Central Council of Romanian Trade Unions. (Radio Bucharest.)

Ten Bulgarian engineers arrived recently in Guinea to work on irrigation projects. (Radio Sofia.)

February 21 A school of journalism opened in Conakry, staffed by Czechoslovak and Polish experts who will, according to Guinean officials speaking at the opening ceremonies, train Guinean journalists "not merely to inform, but to fight for a better future for Guinea, for the complete liberation of Africa, and for peaceful coexistence among all nations." (Radio Prague.)

February 22 Within the framework of a "medical help for the Congo" action, the first group of (five) physicians left Poland for the Congo, where they will remain for about one year. (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw].)

An agreement which newly regulates trade relations between Czechoslovakia and Burma has been signed in Rangoon. (*Rude Pravo* [Prague].)

Czechoslovakia has shipped 765 trucks, buses and other motor vehicles of the Praga, Skoda and Tatra makes to Cuba. (Radio Prague.)

The Polish epic film *The Teutonic Knights* is now being shown in Africa. In Nigeria, preparations are being made for a Polish film festival. The prize-winning film *Kanal* is showing in Burma, to be followed by *The Teutonic Knights*. Poland produces about 150 short feature films a year, and also cartoons, "which are finding a ready market in foreign countries, despite strong competition." (PAP [Warsaw].)

Czechoslovakia and Iran signed a new trade and payments agreement at Teheran. Czechoslovakia will export to Iran engineering products, glassware and ceramics; and will import cotton, ore, industrial timber and other goods. (Radio Prague.)

February 24 Representatives of the Czechoslovak film industry have been touring Africa. In Guinea they dis-

cussed the production of Guinean newsreels, the organization of a Czechoslovak film week in Guinea, and cooperation of Czechoslovak film personnel in shooting Guinea's first full length film. In Tunisia, they concluded an agreement on the delivery of Czechoslovak films and the holding of a film week April 10-April 16. (While in Tunis they held a special showing of the documentary film on the "Spartakiade," the mass physical training festival held in Prague in 1960.) Similar arrangements were made in Morocco. (CTK Bulletin [Prague].)

February 25 The prominent Polish economist Oscar Lange arrived in Cairo as the guest of the Egyptian Central Bank. (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw].)

A delegation of the Hungarian foreign trade corporation Kemolintex returned from a trip to India, Ceylon, and Indonesia. The chemical trade with India is being greatly expanded (from a value of \$100,000 in 1959 to \$2.5 million this year). Hungary will export to the Far East tire, belt and other rubber goods, paint, and chemical products. Hungary will buy crude rubber direct from Ceylon and Indonesia, bypassing the exchange market in London and Singapore. (Radio Budapest.)

February 27 A complementary protocol to the Iranian-Hungarian trade agreement of 1955 and a payments agreement were signed in Teheran. Hungary will send Iran machines and industrial installations, chemical products, electrical equipment, etc. and will receive raw cotton, minerals, hides, etc. from Iran. (MTI [Budapest].)

March 2 An air route between Prague and Havana was inaugurated March 1. (*Rude Pravo* [Prague].) An agreement concerning the setting up of air services between Cuba and Czechoslovakia was signed in Prague March 4. (Radio Prague.)

More than 2,000 students from Africa, Asia and Latin America are enrolled at Czechoslovak State expense in institutions of higher learning in Czechoslovakia. The largest groups are from the UAR, Iraq, the Sudan, Indonesia, Guinea, Brazil, Somalia and Nigeria. (*Svobodne Slovo* [Prague].)

March 3 An exchange agreement has been signed between the Polish supply and sales cooperative organization and the Ghana National Cooperative Council. A Council delegation will go from Ghana to Poland for several months training, and a group of Polish physicians will go to Ghana to assist in organizing health cooperatives. (Radio Warsaw.)

March 4 Gyula Germanus, a leading Professor of Arabic at the University of Budapest, gave a series of lectures on Hungarian modern literature and new Arabic literature at the University of Rabat in Morocco. (Radio Budapest.)

Czechoslovak technicians in the Mali Republic have completed technical research and begun construction on a leather industry combine which will be the largest of its kind on the African continent. (*Rude Pravo* [Prague].)

March 5 The Minister of Health of the Mali Republic arrived in Poland for a one-week visit. (PAP [Warsaw].)



Kortars (Budapest), May 1960

TWO HUNGARIAN WRITERS

The Hungarian writers' "strike of silence" after the 1956 Revolt has for quite some time now ceased to be in force. With the exception of a few such major figures as Tibor Dery, who were recently released from prison and are doubtless not permitted to publish, Hungarian writers are again contributing to such literary journals as *Kortars*. These stories and poems, however, are far from the "Socialist realism" which orthodoxy demands, as the two examples reprinted here demonstrate. The story, despite the title, deals with the encroachments of armed men on peasants anywhere, at any time. And the poem, with its religious imagery, is saturated with nostalgia for times past. Once again, Hungarian writers are ignoring the strait demands of the Party's cultural commissars.

NAZIS

THE SHEPHERD—he was quite an old man already, maybe sixty or sixty-five—was chopping wood on a wide, tall stump. Beside him, an eight to nine-year-old boy was gathering the pieces of wood.

Both of them heard the thump of the horses. They heard, too, someone halting behind their backs, then the striking of matches as cigarettes were lit behind them; but they didn't turn around and kept at the wood as though they had heard nothing.

The two armed ones came forward from the pine forest; first they had stopped a long time under cover of the trees and watched the shepherds, the flock, the tiny hut, the dog coursing about and now then letting out a yelp. Then they came across the pasture and stopped their horses in back of the working pair.

There they stood behind them, blowing smoke, not speaking. Pistols at their waists, guns slung across their backs, feet hanging out of the stirrups.

Time passed. There was silence, as if four men weren't standing there close together. Yet they had been born men, all of them: the armed ones, the shepherd, and the youngster.

THE AUTHORS Gyula Illyes, born 1902, has long been one of Hungary's leading novelists, dramatists and poets. He was a major figure in the pre-Revolt thaw. Since 1956 he has led the strike of silence; "Ironing," which appeared in *KORTARS* (Budapest), April 1960, was his first published work since the Revolt.

Ferenc Santa is one of the younger generation of Hungarian writers, partially brought up and educated under Communism. His volume of short stories, "Winter Bloom," published in 1956, was critical of the regime. "Nazis" appeared in *KORTARS*, May 1960.

When they had smoked their cigarettes, one of the armed ones undid a large rubber stick from his saddle and addressed the old man:

"You! Old man!" he said.

The shepherd had just lifted his axe for a stroke, but he did not bear down with it, rather, he put it down on the ground in front of him, snatched off the hat from his head, turned around, and thus, head bared, he bowed very low, as low as he could. He said nothing, did not even lift his gaze, only stood there before the horse, bowing, hat in hand, his light white hair immediately caught up in the breeze.

The child, as if he hadn't heard a word, kept gathering wood and piling it up with the rest.

Time passed again, the armed ones did not speak, and the old man was bowing before them, and did not budge.

Afterwards the armed one spoke up, but not for some time; the horses were stamping already, twisting their necks.

"Did you see anyone?" he asked.

The old man answered immediately, just as fast as he had put down the axe in front of him:

"I didn't see anyone."

The other armed one came nearer:

"We asked you: did you see a man hereabouts?"

"I didn't see a man hereabouts," the old man said.

His gaze rested on the ground, he saw his boots, grass, and the horse's hooves.

"Come closer!" said the one with the rubber stick.

He went up close against the horse.

"Closer yet!"

He stepped up to the horse's leg.

"Closer!"

He came up in front of the armed one's boot. He saw the toe of the boot, the stirrup, a piece of the horse's belly, and the grass.

The armed one reached down with his stick under the old man's chin and lifted his face up high. The old man's waist bent forward and his head back on its nape; he did not raise his eyes but looked at the pants on the rider's knee and at the stirrup-strap. He would have liked to swallow, but couldn't because of the rubber stick.

The armed one was looking into his face. He pressed his wrist on his knee—that is how he held the rubber stick against the old man's chin—kept holding the head up high and looking into the face.

Then he removed the stick and struck the shepherd's shoulder.

There was silence.

"You may go!"

The old man turned, quickly went back to the stump, put his hat on, took the axe, lifted it high, and continued to chop wood.

When he had split in two the fourth or fifth log, the armed one called out:

"Old man!"

He turned, snatched off his hat, lowered his eyes—everything exactly as before.

"How old is the boy?"

"The boy is eight."

"Are you raising him?"

"I am raising him."

The second man, too, spoke up:

"How long have you been raising him?"

"I have been raising him for one year."

He came up closer.

"Did you see a man around here?"

"I saw no man around here."

"You may go!" said the other.

They were silent.

"You there! Boy!" said the one with the rubber stick.

The youngster's arms were full of wood; he was on his way to the stump to put that load with the rest. He stopped, threw down the logs in front of his feet, quickly removed his cap from his head, bowed, and so, with bent waist, turned around. The wind promptly snatched up his hair, too. He, too, saw his feet and the grass on the ground.

"How old are you?"

Immediately—the way he had dropped the wood from his arms—he replied:

"I am eight years old."

"This old man is raising you?"

"This old man is raising me."

"Raising you since when?"

"Raising me since a year ago."

"This old man?" the second one asked.

"This old man."

"Your grandfather?"

"My grandfather."

"Come here!" said the one with the rubber stick.

He went up—just like the old man—to the horse.

"Nearer!"

He went up exactly to the boot, but was so small that, with bent waist, his head did not reach the boot but was almost under the horse's belly. He could not even see anything beyond the grass and his shoes.

The armed one moved his foot, stuck the toe of his boot under the child's head, found the chin and raised the head.

"Higher!" he said.



Kortars (Budapest), April 1960

Ironing

The iron, like an iron ship,
Went back and forth among the drip-
ping purest waves of wash. It sped,
Turned, and backed up, and lunged ahead.

So sailed the iron; in its wake,
How smooth the little linen lake!
And fresh and all-pervasive—free
Came the aroma of lingerie.

In Holy Week in the afternoon
We went into the farmyard, and soon
Gathered around a friendly drink
To watch the big girl ironing

The skirts and underskirts that swish
Nearer and ever nearer flesh,
Skirts of which only the looming lace
Glints in the street for one brief space.

She licked her lissome finger first
To taste the fire with. Then aspersed
The laundry from an earthenware
Basin, and talked, and had no care.

The finished skirts, bellying round,
Hung from nails high above the ground.
Under their folds, we taciturn
Young men could feel our faces burn.

O just to cast a glance up there,
What consummation! What a rare
Purity: earthly paradise
To which no sinner shall ever rise.

Monstrance into whose scattering rays,
Like flaming locks, who dares to gaze?
What true believer dare make his
That home of bliss and mysteries?

Outshining suns, such distant flame
Out of that ancient burning came:
Forbidden, secret fire—could sear
Even the thought that rose too near.

The great grown girl talked with full lips.
And between her iron's gliding trips,
Her virgin gaze hung on us. Yet
I did not know a word she said.

Ding, dang, dong! On my ears there fell
The ceaseless rushing of the bell.
This I recall. And how men trod
Churchward, to resurrect their god.

Translated by John Simon

The child lifted his head high, pressed it all the way
back onto its nape. He had not yet seen the faces of the
armed ones and felt a strong desire to lift his eyelids.

Then he shut his eyes.

"Open!"

He went on looking at the creased leather of the boot.

"Did you see a man come this way?"

"I didn't see a man come this way."

His mouth, too, filled up with saliva.

"You said the old man is raising you?"

"I said the old man is raising me."

There was silence. There was the thumping of the
horses' hooves and the thud of the old man's axe.

"Turn round!" said the armed one and lowered his boot.

The child turned around.

"Look in front of you!"

The child raised his head.

"What do you see?"

"I see: off there mountains, sky, trees, then I see a
hut, in front of it poles with pots on them; I see goats, a
fire pit . . ."

"Now get going!"

They paced after him, let him get all the way to the
hut. There they made him stop. It was a low shepherd's
hut; before it, hanging from poles, some crockery, to the
right a tethered goat, white as snow, and nearer, among
stones, a morning fire fallen to ashes.

The one with the rubber stick rode up close to the child
and, with his foot, turned him toward the goat.

"What's this?"

"This is a goat."

"Look at it carefully!"

"I'm looking at it carefully."

The other man spoke up too:

"What is this?"

"A goat," said the boy.

The armed one leaned his boot against the child's side:

"Turn around!"

There, farther off, was the flock, without a bell, grazing
without a single bell, not a single bell around the neck of
one of them.

"Call the dog!"

The boy called the dog. It sidled over slowly, then
slunk up to the youngster and sat down at his feet.

"Pay attention!" said the armed one. "This thing that
lies at your feet, what is it?"

"A dog," said the child.

"No . . . This thing that lies at your feet is a goat, a big
white goat! Do you understand me?"

The boy was silent.

The armed one put the rubber stick on the boy's un-
covered head. He laid it across it, neatly bisecting the con-
vexity of the skull, so that the end of the stick protruded
well ahead of the boy's eyes. The other armed one came

(Continued on page 31)

Me, Three Cabinet Ministers and One Small Car

by PETER HALASZ

"Anybody wishing to purchase a passenger car shall register in advance and deposit the expected purchase price of the car in a blocked and interest-bearing account at the National Savings Bank. The said account will be opened upon information from the Csepel Bicycle and Motorbicycle Wholesale Enterprise. The account shall be blocked by the National Savings Bank for a period of six months, and may be used for the purchase of an automobile only. In order of registrations the wholesale enterprise shall conclude the deals with the prospective buyers according to the pace of imports, the purchase price will then be drawn from the account. People who have

already registered shall be notified by the wholesale enterprise in the order of their registration to pay in the purchase price to the National Savings Bank for the expected car deliveries for the ensuing six months. Anybody who does not, within a limited period, give proof of payment to the National Savings Bank, shall be considered as having renounced and the next on the list shall be notified that an account may be opened. New advance registration shall be accepted only when all those registered have been notified, and it can reasonably be expected that further motor vehicle shipments will cover the demand. . . ."

THUS THE newest decree regulating the purchase of automobiles in Hungary. The Western reader will probably find this a little involved, but I myself am really baffled at how simple and humane it is. It would be unfitting and extremely rude on my part not to take off my hat to the authors of this decree. And I shall do it herewith, remembering an incident that happened to me back home which, I believe, should be recorded for posterity. Of course, everybody has a story about his car. "Imagine, I was just turning into X street, when from Y street. . . ." The reader probably knows that I do not intend to take up his time with similar stories. My story is quite different, and if I may say so, characteristic of an entire era and a political regime. May I now ask for the attention of my readers; the hairpin bends of the career of my car can otherwise not be negotiated.

Well, I was driving peacefully along a main street in Budapest when a fire engine at full speed rammed my car. The light was green in my direction, and I had intended to cross with the permitted speed of 20 mph. The

fire engine was coming in the opposite direction and when it reached the corner the driver suddenly signalled a turn and swerved into my path. In the last second, however, with my excellent reflexes (please note that the tellers of such stories always have excellent reflexes) I managed to avoid being hit bang in the middle. This fact certainly saved my life, but did not save my car. The body was twisted like a crying face, the radiator burst and the car itself literally went down on its knees. When I managed to extricate myself from the wreck and looked at what had been my pride, it was little consolation to be alive. I am sure now that I was even sorry, for there were so many people in Hungary and so few automobiles.

The policewoman operating the traffic light reluctantly left her post and approached us. A large crowd gathered, for it became quite evident to everybody that the situation was somewhat ticklish: the fire truck represented State power, while myself and the wreck of my car were of the private sector. However, the fire truck was not rushing to any fire, and therefore had not used the siren. In fact,

it turned out, it was not even driven by a fireman. The fire engine had been repaired at a repair shop and the driver of the repair shop was just delivering the engine back to the fire-station. The manager of the repair shop was sitting next to him as was the Party Secretary of the repair establishment. Probably they were on their way to celebrate, with the firemen, that the repair of a fire engine had been completed within the Five Year Plan. Mind, I just assumed it, it might not have been true.

My little wreck had been a German DKW of 1938 vintage—as we figured, at least. The accident described above happened in 1952 in September. The car was thus 14 years old when she expired by violence. Some readers may shrug this off ironically. But what a mistake! Such a compact little DKW car was the dream of every private person in Hungary at that time, and for many reasons. The DKW was a placid and everlasting little creature, just like a camel; she had only two cylinders and the entire motor block was hardly larger than a box of cigars. She ran on a mixture of gasoline and oil, like a motorbike. This car never heard of “changing the oil.” The motor was a little noisy, and because of all these features the almighty State tolerated the ownership of such cars better than it did that of regular four cylinder cars. She was somehow a cross between a motorbicycle and a car, and was a little despised. The few happy owners of these cars did little to clear up this misapprehension. They behaved like a sly rich man, who does not mind if his sparkling diamond ring is believed to be a fake. The less envied, the fewer enemies.

The Three Wizards

There was yet another important factor that made these DKW cars so much coveted by everyone in Hungary. Before the war the Majláth Company represented the German DKW cars in Hungary. After the war, when Germany was not yet producing any cars, the representation was, of course, discontinued. By the time the Germans started production again, Hungary no longer imported cars. However, the son-in-law of the former DKW representative, an engineer, and two former mechanics of the company opened a small repair shop somewhere on the outskirts of the city, specializing in DKW cars. Here in their unheated, dirty little workshop they dismantled, put together, repaired and worked day by day from dawn till dusk. These three looked after the maintenance of nearly all DKW cars in the entire country. People came to them from far and near. Their little workshop became the *sine qua non* for all DKW cars, and the very fact that they existed and worked made these cars even more desirable, for large four cylinder cars had to be repaired in State workshops—all workshops were “Socialized” by that time—you had to wait your turn for months, the costs were prohibitive and no spare-parts could be found anywhere.

The three wizards, however, were always able to patch together the DKWs.

I had bought my car in January 1950 from a plumber. At that time no special permits were required for the purchase of cars. Anything that had four wheels and could roll a few blocks was on the market. The plumber was recommended by a friend of mine, who knew of my purchase plans. I went to the address given to have a look at the car. Once upon a time she had been a convertible, but by then her top was down forever. The canvas flopped around the steel-frame in rags. The color of the car must have been light blue, at least this is what a few spots of faded enamel indicated. She was decidedly down at the heels, and altogether a very sorry sight indeed. All the same, my heart fluttered with sheer joy when I looked at her.

“She has a few scratches,” said the plumber, “I lugged a couple of pipes from Győr, this somewhat ruined the top, but I never had any trouble with the engine, and you won’t either. Man, this car has even been in Africa with Rommel’s troops! I found the marks of an Oran repair shop on the frame. Man, this car even crossed the desert, both ways, and will stand up to any wear and tear! I would never sell it if I wasn’t scared that I’ll be nationalized soon, myself. I tell you this confidentially, it’s the only reason I’m selling her. You understand.”

The plumber did not give me a sales talk, he knew that he would not have any difficulty in selling the car, he rather wanted me to see the romantic aspects of the deal. Like a proud father, whose lovely and beautiful daughter is being asked for in marriage, and who knows that the future husband is head over heels in love, nevertheless he continued to extoll the beauties of his daughter.

I bought the car, of course. When I drove her off for the first time the most die-hard Budapest natives stood flabbergasted and transfixed. The tattered canvas top flopped behind like a tattered war-pennant. The car somehow looked like a one-eyed pirate who, with a scar-marred and weather-beaten face, a dirty kerchief round his head, looms sinisterly up in a busy city street. Everybody gaped, but nobody smiled at us. My car showed defiance and intrepidity. Arriving at the house where we lived, I opened the door with a flourish to my wife who stood there expectantly. Her face reflected a mixture of awe and horror. She stepped in and off we drove. A couple of minutes later we barely missed being struck by a streetcar, but we didn’t mind. We had a car, we were happy.

There were many repairs to be done, and I was a frequent visitor at the little workshop of the three wizards. The body was quietly rotting away, and the doors could therefore never be properly closed. My passenger could somehow solve the problem by holding on to the door-handle. But what about me? I had to hold on to the steering wheel. Therefore I tied a piece of string to the

Mr. Halasz was born in Budapest in 1922. He has been a novelist, playwright, scriptwriter and journalist. He left Hungary after the suppression of the 1956 Revolt, and is now in the US. His first novel in English is to be published here shortly. Articles by Mr. Halasz have appeared in previous issues of East Europe.

handle, the other end of which I fastened to the steering rod, even though this somewhat complicated my getting in and out of the car. Ever since, whenever I see in films how military pilots are fastened into their seats, I think of my seating arrangement in my little DKW. Often when I braked too suddenly, the entire seat broke loose, and I slid back like a pilot ejected from a plane. Everything on the car, the metal frame, the doors, the seats, everything, everything was rusted away, and yet . . . she ran. She ran on that tiny little motor, hardly bigger than a cigar-box. And how many envied me, goodness, how many.

I have no doubt at all that the dilapidated, rusty little vehicle somehow was significant for my entire life and future. The fact that I had a car made the authorities suspicious. It did not really matter what kind of a car it was, because in a "people's democracy" a car is not a means of transportation, it is an ideology, or even more, a certain type of attitude. Nevertheless, I stuck to the little wreck, which deteriorated day by day as did democracy and the bourgeois world. And the little car was grateful for my attention. She kept on rolling, puffing, dragging both herself and vague hopes of personal freedom, because—I am certain of it—a car, a symbol of our era, becomes consciously or subconsciously a symbol of escape.

I am telling you all this because I want to make it clear to my readers that it was *not* only a car that died there on the streets of Budapest. It was something much less and very much more.

JUDGMENT ON A WRECK

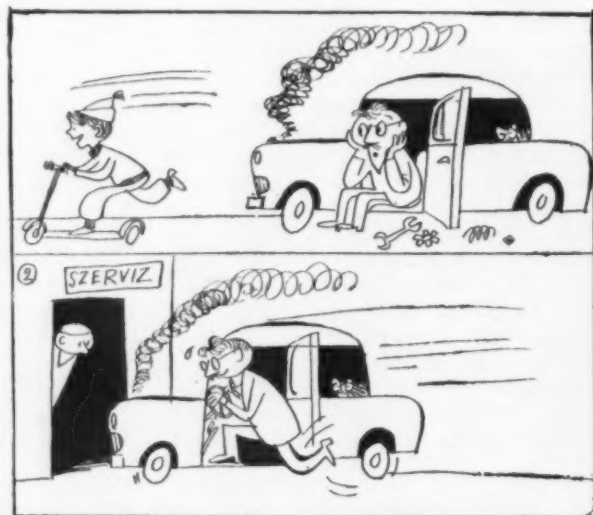
THE FIRST important decree regulating the ownership of motorcars was published in December 1950, and stated that at the stroke of midnight on December 31, 1950, all privately owned automobiles must disappear from the streets. The decree also disclosed that everybody who owned an automobile would receive—in alphabetical order of their last names—a notice in the course of January 1951 as to when they must report with the car in order to surrender it to a committee. This committee set up its headquarters in a public park. The decree also provided for exemptions. The only persons permitted to keep their cars were those who were recommended by the head section-chief of that ministry under the jurisdiction of which the person belonged according to his profession. For instance, doctors could be recommended for exemption by the Ministry of Public Health, writers and journalists by the Ministry of Public Education, etc. Other mortals, such as tradespeople, artisans, professors, teachers, engineers and office clerks were *ab ovo* included anyway. The chief of the propaganda department at the Ministry of Public Education gave me the needed exemption-recommendation, which nevertheless did not exempt me from reporting to the committee.

The procedure in the park was very fast. The unhappy owner drove up in his car and got out. The "experts" then assessed the car. A ridiculous act, since at that time no car had a face value at all, it was rather a tremendous sentimental and ideological treasure. For when a country has no automobile industry and no imports, only aged,

deteriorating cars declining steadily in numbers, the cars certainly have no more market value, only a poetical one. The committee cared little about market or sentimental values. Prices are relative anyway, and the committee went far in relativity. They did not "assess" the price of the cars, they confiscated the privately owned cars. Even those that were in excellent condition were priced at 2-3,000 *forint* (at the unofficial rate, equal to 20-30 dollars). The owner was told that his car was sold from this moment on. He could take it home, but would receive no license plate and therefore could not use it, but he must put the car into storage until picked up by the authorities. He also had to sign the transfer, but would get no money until later, he was told, when the car was picked up. A detailed list was made of all the accessories of the car, including the tools.

I do not exaggerate when I say that unhappy car owners aged twenty years during these transactions. Their car was taken away from them, they no longer owned it, and yet if as much as a single tool should be missing, they might go to prison for stealing State property. To some their car meant everything, their entire fortune as well as the only asset they were able to save. Cars of workers who built their own from scrap and spare parts bought here and there were also taken away. Some of these people had worked for years on these do-it-yourself vehicles, just as people in happier countries work on the completion and embellishment of their own homes. Now all they received was a slip of paper, a crumpled list-copy. This is what was left of the Sunday family excursions, their work, their penny-pinching, their illusion of freedom.

My car was assessed by the experts at 500 *forint* (five dollars), but since the Ministry granted me an exemption I was entitled to a license plate and a voucher for gasoline coupons I had to pick up every month at the town hall of the district where I lived. With this voucher I was en-



An excellent idea.

Nepszabadsag (Budapest), February 3, 1961

titled to buy the coupons at the post office, and only with these coupons could gasoline be bought at the service stations. Further, I would not be permitted to sell my car. If I decided to give it up, I had to offer it to the State Automobile Trade Enterprise, which would then purchase it at the price assessed by the Committee. The car therefore *in fact* belonged to the State; I, however, was licensed to use it. How much excitement, tension, rope-pulling was needed to have my little one-eyed, weather beaten, tied-together pirate saved.

And now there it lay at my feet, in ruins, forever. . . .

Since the accident happened not too far from the workshop of my three wizards, one of them appeared on the scene within half an hour. This wizard, called Kudelka, was a taciturn, stocky man with a wry humor. He arrived on a motorbike. He scratched his head and gave me a meaningful look that said more than any words. It meant: well, yes, it has come to this. I had learned to interpret Kudelka's nods, I had no doubt about what he meant.

"Shall we tow her in?" he asked. "Is there any hope that we can repair her?" I asked. "I don't believe so," he said assessing the damage, but added consolingly, "Of course you have to be paid for damages, since it is quite clear that it was not your fault, and then maybe we could manage to get another car."

He could not have meant this seriously. Another car? Where from?

The policewoman made out the report with a bored face, the driver of the fire engine—a young man—explained the accident at the top of his voice, his boss agreed to everything he said, and the Party Secretary nodded to everything. Evidently they were not to blame for anything. What the heck, everybody could see it!

By the time the policewoman was willing to take down the names of the witnesses, the crowd melted away rapidly. One by one they left, shrugging their shoulders and looking away. First of all, who wants to testify in any proceedings? And, what is more, who on earth wants to testify in a case when a private individual sues the almighty State for damages? Finally we managed to find two who were willing to testify, Kudelka rode back to the workshop for help, the fire engine drove away and I began to walk home dejectedly.

The Verdict

A couple of days later the three wizards told me the verdict: by some miracle the motor had survived the disaster unscathed. This, however, did not solve our problem, since the frame was twisted beyond repair. They would try to find an old frame somewhere, halve it, cut the frame of my car also in two and then weld the good parts together. But how on earth and where they were to find such an old frame and when they would have the time and energy to perform this wizardry, they could not tell. I was in no hurry since a little preliminary reckoning of the expenses revealed that the work would need at least 10,000 *forint*, which at that time was equivalent to five months of my salary. We had to wait for the decision of the police traffic

court, then the outcome of the damage suit, before we could decide. The wreck was pushed back into the darkest corner of the workshop, and I ceased to be a car-owner.

I filed the damage suit, but for a very long time nothing happened, except that some expert was sent to the workshop to assess the damage. These experts were engineers, appointed by the courts. This engineer looked over the wreck and laughed. "The amusing side of the story is," he said, "that this heap of scrap iron is worth less than 10 *forint*. The damage done, however, can be estimated at 8,000 *forint*."

A few weeks later the case came up at the police traffic court, revealing that the driver of the fire engine, an employee of the Automobile Repair Enterprise, had several times before been sentenced for speeding. The judge informed him that the next time his driving license would be withdrawn. This time he got thirty days in jail, sentence suspended for one year on probation. It had been established that he alone was responsible for the accident.

Such a sentence meant, naturally, that I had already won my damage suit, as under the prevailing decree regular courts had to pass the same sentence as did the special courts, which in this case was the police traffic court.

My damage suit, however, came up in court many months later, in the summer of 1953. The judge sat indifferently on his dais. The case was clear as the sun, he had the report of the expert: damage 8,000 *forint*. The police traffic court had decided who was responsible. The judge was annoyed, not because the case looked too involved but because he had to compel a State enterprise to pay for damages to a private person. Finally he cut the Gordian knot: he reduced the damages to be paid to 6,000 *forint* but told me hastily that I had the right to appeal to the Supreme Court. This meant that if I did not appeal he had saved 2,000 *forint* for the repair enterprise; if I appealed, even better, the case would come up before some other judge and he would have nothing more to do with such an unpleasant affair. "You may appeal," he said, beseechingly.

"I acquiesce," I said loudly, and already I saw my little car rolling and puffing along again. We would consult with the three wizards as to what we could chisel off the repair costs. Maybe we wouldn't need a new radiator, maybe they could patch it up once more. My motion picture scenario, which I had rewritten for the sixth time, would perhaps finally pass all the dramaturgist—art—operative—and ministerial forums and councils, I might get my fee at long last, and eventually I might round the 6,000 *forint* up to 8,000, who knows?

I rushed to the workshop with the good news. On my way I secretly hoped that, by some miracle, by the time I arrived there my little car might be waiting for me, rejuvenated, patched together, at the door of the workshop, the three wizards smiling. "We were in a good mood, *abracadabra* . . . we said the magic word . . . you were lucky, my boy. . . ."

The wreck, however, stood dust-covered in the corner; as a matter of fact, it was quietly falling to pieces. There was a dirty, oily mutt in the workshop, which used it as his

own little private lavatory. The entire workshop was crammed with decrepit DKW cars, all waiting for the magic touch of the wizards. Besides, there were the steady customers, and the transients. The latter drove up with great flourishes and screeching brakes and begged for remedies for paltry little complaints. One of the wizards could handle them in a couple of hours. "Look here Mr. Kudelka, something seems to be wrong with the generator," or "My brakes are not good enough, could you fix them?" Generator, brakes, shucks. I looked at my wreck of a car just as the dirty dog paid another visit to her.

"Six thousand forint will not be enough for all the repairs," said Mr. Kudelka, "nor 8,000 as a matter of fact. Every day there are fewer parts we can use, and the prices go up day by day." Nevertheless, we agreed that he would start to work on the wreck, but not immediately, of course.

"First there are a couple of jobs I've got to take care of. Here, for instance, is Mr. Rab's car. Complete overhaul, motor to be changed. I've got to have it ready for him when he comes back from his Berlin engagement."

Mr. Rab was none other than Istvan Rab, the famous ballet star of the Hungarian Opera. (His real name was Rabovszky; "Rab," the name he used, means "prisoner" in Hungarian. I think he was trying to say something.) He was at the moment performing in East Berlin, together with his wife, the famous actress Nora Kovacs.

In addition to Rab's car there were seven or eight other jobs Kudelka had to do before he could start on mine. He made no secret of having little enthusiasm for my job, like a surgeon who has to face an operation the outcome of which is in doubt. But like these surgeons, who never fail to do their duty, Kudelka too, even if discouraged, was willing to operate. True, he put off the date of the surgery, until the surgeon—not the patient—felt better. I did not push him. It would take some time anyway until I could cash in my damages from the State automobile repair shop.

From the repair shop I rushed to the film studio. As mentioned before, I was working on a film scenario which was in no better condition than my wrecked car. I was also writing a picture on the Budapest subway under construction at that time, number two project under the Second Five Year Plan. This script had been constantly criticized, objected to alternately by the Ministry of Public Education, the Ministry of Transportation, the studio management and the Party Cultural Management, or by all four at the same time. Since I wrote an entirely new script on the same topic every month, I called it the "Under the City" monthly periodical. This is how I spent my life divided between two wrecks: that of my deteriorating automobile and the equally mouldering and rusting scenario.

MY KINGDOM FOR A CAR

AT THE OFFICE of the motion picture producer one of my colleagues pulled me aside and, having first looked around, whispered, awe-stricken: "You heard?" "Heard

what?" "Istvan Rab and Nora Kovács have escaped from East Berlin to West Berlin and asked for asylum."

This was exciting news indeed. And for the film studio it had an added interest: Only a couple of days ago the shooting had been finished on a comedy called "First Swallow," starring Nora Kovács. The Budapest previews had been held already, the premiere was to be within the next few weeks. Nora played the worker daughter of a stakhanovite who was trying to make a stakhanovite of her lover. This was truly a comic theme, and after the daughter of the stakhanovite fled to the West it was funnier still.

In vain did my colleague whisper, the news spread like brushfire. A few minutes later I was sitting in a bus on my way back to the workshop. I kept on hearing, like the chorus of a song, "here for instance is Mr. Rab's car, complete overhaul, motor to be changed."

I had seen Rab's car that very morning at the workshop; the body was in excellent condition. It was a grey little DKW coupe. It needed a general overhaul, and a new motor. The motor of my car was in excellent condition. Just take the motor out of my car and put it in Rab's. . . . I had to race against time now, Rab's car was well known all over the city, and well known also to the Political Police, and it was very possible that something might happen to the car, the authorities might pick it up. By the time I arrived at the workshop I was out of breath, but found the little grey car with her red-spoked wheels still standing there.

"Did you hear the news?" I asked the three wizards.

They shrugged it off, yes, they had heard something but who knows about these rumors.

"Can you put my motor into Rab's car?"

"Easily."

"Is it worth while? Are the body and the frame in good condition?"

"By all means."

"What are you going to with the car?"

"What should we do?" said Kudelka, "For the moment nothing. When we know for sure that the rumor is a fact we shall report to the authorities that Rab's car is here."

"But you won't do anything today? I mean you won't report it?"

"Why the heck should we? Nothing was in the papers, maybe it is only a rumor."

From the workshop I went straight to the Ministry of Transportation. Anything involving cars was under the jurisdiction of the Automobile Department of this Ministry. I knew that the Section Chief, a Bela Ivócs, was friendly to artists, writers, journalists. Because of my scenario on the Budapest subway I had already established some relations with this Ministry. Nevertheless, my heart leapt to my throat when I went to see Ivócs' secretary.

Ivócs received me immediately. He listened attentively to my story, beginning with the accident up to the latest developments. "Rab's car at present has no owner," I summed up, "and in addition it is of no specific value to anybody but myself, it is out of service, the engine must be

changed. Only the body is of some value. I have a wreck, which has a motor that is in good condition. My car was wrecked by the driver of a State enterprise, the repair enterprise, which is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Transportation. May I hope in this case for the support of the Ministry?"

"The Issue Is Not Simple"

Ivócs pondered for a long time, he finally said: "The issue is not that simple. Naturally we have heard about Rab's car. We have already initiated measures to be taken. But nevertheless, I agree that you should be somehow permitted to purchase the car. The procedure is as follows: The Ministry will take possession of the car and have it towed to its own depot. Official organs of the Automobile Trading Enterprise under the Ministry will assess the car. The amount thus given by them is in fact twenty percent of the *de facto* value, the car will be sold at a price that is five times that of the estimated value. This means that if the car is assessed for 1,200 *forint*—which we may take for granted—you may be able to buy the car for 6,000. On the other hand, you cannot own two cars, and therefore you must surrender your old car to the Automobile Trading Enterprise, and what is more all accessories, as listed at the survey, must be on and in the car. Until you have surrendered the car you will not be permitted to buy Rab's. On the other hand, if you sell your car now, what motor will you put into Rab's car? So you see the situation is somewhat complicated. In addition I am unable to tell you now when the car will be towed to the depot, when it will be assessed, when it can be sold, and by that time how many others will want to buy the car. The only advice I can give you is to follow events with care."

I immediately contacted my journalist friends at the press section of the Ministry and set about trying to establish friendly relations with the Motor Vehicle Department. It was important to have connections at strategic points and to receive immediate word should the car be transferred from Kudelka's place to the State depot. Even though they promised everything, I am sure nothing much would have been undertaken on my behalf had it not been for the fact that, just then, in Moscow, Beria was arrested and

Malenkov took over. These sudden astonishing events confused everybody and at first threw me into despair. Nothing was sure anymore, you could no longer figure out whom you had to deal with, with whom to be friendly, how various forces would align themselves. Further reflection, however, convinced me that the arrest of Beria might augur well in regard to the business with my car. I was not mistaken. I received a telephone message telling me the car had been transferred. I rushed to the ministry; not only had the car been transferred, it was already assessed at 1,200 *forint*. I immediately went to see Ivócs.

"All right" he said. "Buy the car. I am going to make out the approval of the Ministry, with this you have to go to the center of the Automobile Trading Enterprise, pick up the money order by which you have to pay the purchase price. The rest is easy."

By a series of miracles only a few days before I had received the 6,000 *forint* in payment of my damages, and after a couple of hours, I held the official release for the car, signed by Ivócs. I sped as fast as I could to the offices of the Automobile Trading Enterprise. Here I got the money order so I could pay the proper amount and return with the receipt next morning which would entitle me to the permit which in turn would release the car from the depot of the enterprise.

PULLING STRINGS

NEEDLESS to say, I dreamt of the little grey car all night long. I dreamt that the three wizards had already transplanted my motor into Rab's auto-body and I was speeding along through vales and dales with my wonderful car, when all of a sudden, with a big crash, the axle broke and I was thrown clear, into the ditch. Beria loomed up in front of me, with gaping mouth. Out of nowhere the three wizards suddenly appeared, in tails and top hats, swung their wands, and Beria disappeared and little bunnies emerged from the car, running about and around. I woke up bathed in cold sweat.

Next day I hurried with my receipt of payment to the Automobile Trading Enterprise. I got all the necessary stamps, papers, releases. And what is more I was generously allowed to have my own wreck towed there 24 hours later. These 24 hours would be sufficient to exchange the two motors. I took a bus and rushed to the workshop, brandishing my release-permit: "We can now go and pick up the car." Kudelka got the tow-rope—my new car, of course, was unable to proceed under her own steam—and we took his motorbike back to the depot. Here, naturally, we first had to find the supervisor of the depot. He received us grumpily and with suspicion.

"We came to pick up the DKW car with such and such license plate. Here are the payment slips, the release of the Ministry and the door-pass. Where is the car?"

The supervisor looked at everything carefully and then returned the papers: "The car is here, but not a soul will take it away."

I tried to smile. "You are joking, don't you see the



The advantages of a small car.

Nepszabadsag (Budapest), March 12, 1961

papers, receipts, releases, passes? And yet you refuse to let the car out?"

He shrugged. "It's not me. What do I care whose car it is? It's the Comrade Minister who won't let it go. Half an hour ago he telephoned. I talked to him personally and was told that by his personal instructions the car cannot be released to anybody."

"Which Comrade Minister was it?"

"Which one? Why, Comrade Bebrics, the Minister of Transportation, my superior."

I was quite dizzy, I thought I was tricked by hallucinations, I thought I was not hearing well, I believed I must have lost my mind on the way there. "But why on earth?" I finally managed to say.

"None of my business," was the reply, "I only do what I am told."

"Are you sure," I asked with rising hope, "that we are talking about the same car? Maybe this is an error, and the Comrade Minister meant another car."

"No mistake about it, and besides I never make a mistake. The Comrade Minister instructed me to put the car in a hidden corner and nobody is permitted to see or to touch it."

"May I use the telephone?"

"Not this one, this is an official line, outside the depot there is a booth, you can use that."

Kudelka and I hurried out and were near the gates when we were overtaken by someone. He was a young clerk from the office who had overheard our talk with the supervisor.

"I want to tell you something," he said, looked around and dropped his voice, "maybe it will help if you know what really happened. Miss Ági Mészáros, Kossuth Award winner actress, with her husband the director of the National Theatre, Thomas Major, were here an hour ago. They came straight to the office and asked right away for the car. I took them there, they looked at it from all sides and finally Major asked Miss Mészáros, is this one all right? Yes, she said, and Major then told her that he would immediately see that it was arranged. They returned to the office, where Major called Bebrics, telling him that he put in a claim by Miss Mészáros for the car. Upon this the Comrade Minister asked for the supervisor and gave him his instructions over the telephone. This is what happened."

I looked at Kudelka, he looked at me. He shrugged his shoulders. He might have been a wizard in his own right, but this complication was far beyond his powers.

I called Ivócs, the section chief, from the outside booth. He already had heard the latest developments. "Listen," he said, "don't get excited. True, matters have turned out to be a little more involved, but don't lose heart, not everything is lost yet. The Comrade Minister promised the car to Miss Mészáros, but I promised it to you, and the head section-chief will try to find a solution. Come and see me in a couple of days here at the Ministry, something might have happened by then. This is an extremely delicate problem."

"But I have already paid the 6,000 forint."

"Take it easy, everything will be settled. A ministerial order has in the meantime been issued, this is no doing of mine. Freedom,"—and he cut me off.

"Mr. Kudelka," I said, "we have no car."

"I thought so," was all he said. He straddled his bike, and returned to the workshop, the tow-rope sadly dangling behind him.

Two days later I again turned up at the Ministry. Two doors opened from the Secretary's room, to the right the head section-chief, to the left Ivócs. Now the solution of my tragi-comic case was hidden behind the door on the right.

Patience

Ivócs received me a little ungraciously. "You see, you are lucky that you have already paid the purchase price to the Automobile Trading Enterprise, thus the car is yours, no doubt about that. However, since the Minister has given different orders, we cannot disavow the Minister, you must admit that much. You know what I am going to do now? I am going to have the car towed to the József Street garage of the Automobile Trading Enterprise. This is an underground garage, and nobody knows of its existence. There the car will disappear and we will wait for a couple of weeks, until everybody forgets about it."

"A couple of weeks!" I cried.

"Well, two or three weeks. In the meantime I will try to get another car for Miss Mészáros, and thus everybody will eat their cake and have it as well. You see?"

I did not, but did not want to argue.

"Come and try to find out what happened in about a week," Ivócs dismissed me.

I was completely at a loss. Why must the car be taken to an underground garage and hidden there? If the Minister wanted to find it he surely would be able to.

Nevertheless, after a week I again went to the Ministry, looking for Ivócs, but was told by the secretary that he had left on a three week vacation. Now I understood. Ivócs had said three weeks, because he knew that he was going to be away that long. Further, he hoped that during these three weeks things would untangle themselves in his absence. I looked at the secretary in despair: "May I see Comrade Szentaskó then?"

"He is at a conference."

"When will he be free?"

"We never know."

After waiting an hour I got fed up. I had to return home to continue writing my scenario on the subway. But I came back again in a couple of days, and managed to see Comrade Szentaskó.

"What can I do for you?" he asked me, but when I started my story he interrupted. "I know, I know . . . we will set everything all right somehow, you must have a little patience."

"Patience for what?"

"I must talk to the Comrade Minister, investigate the matter a bit, Comrade Ivócs acted hastily, but we will set it right." And with this he sent me on my way. A few days later I tried to see him again, he was at a conference,

then he left for the provinces, but finally I pinned him down. "Comrade Szentaskó. . . ." "Yes, I know, everything will be set right."

"But I have already paid for the car. . . ."

"Would you like to have your money back?" he said hopefully.

"No, no, I don't want the money, I want the car which. . . ."

"We will see to it. Patience, a little patience, I shall soon talk to the Comrade Minister, soon. . . ."

With buzzing ears I left the Ministry, but did not return to my scenario this time. I went to the Ministry of Public Education, straight to the Deputy Minister, Sándor Erdei. I had worked for his paper for a year in 1949, and knew he would understand the problem. He listened and then shook his head. "Unpleasant story this," he said, "I don't think I can be of much help, but wait, I will talk to Ernő Mihályfi." Mihályfi was the other Deputy Minister.

Erdei duly told the story to Mihályfi who promised to deal with the matter. "When?" asked Erdei. "At once, call me back in ten minutes."

In ten minutes Erdei called Mihályfi again and gave me the message to go immediately to Szentaskó. So I re-

turned to the Ministry of Transportation and back to Szentaskó, who received me with a beaming smile. "There were a lot of misunderstandings all the way. But I have already telephoned to the József street garage to release your car, you may pick it up, everything is all right now."

And that is how it happened that the day came when we towed in the good old DKW to Mr. Kudelka's workshop.

It took a very long time until she was in a shape to run by herself, this old jalopy, but she came to life one day, thanks to the three wizards. She survived the subway, the building of which was interrupted in the meantime. Miss Mészáros' case was also solved: a similar DKW was taken from the State Automobile Trading Company and sold to her.

After this many many things happened to me and the world, and one day I met István Rab and Nora Kovács in New York. By that time Rab, had become Rabovszky again and a tremendous success all over the world. When I told him that I had owned his former car for a short time, he smiled nostalgically and said, "You know, I've had many cars since, even a Cadillac, but I shall never forget that little tin box."

"I quite believe you, neither shall I."

NAZIS (continued from page 23)

nearer, halted his horse alongside the boy, close by, so close that the shank of the man's boot was tight against the child's shoulder.

"Well?"

The child looked at the dog.

The armed one who had just come up to the child took his rubber stick and lightly placed it on the boy's shoulder.

"Say it nicely. . . ."

"Well? . . . What's this in front of you?"

The child looked at his dog.

"A goat. . . ." he said.

"A big white goat!"

"A big white goat."

The armed one galloped away from him, the other one took the stick off his head, and, with his foot, turned the boy toward the goat.

"And this now. . . this is a dog! Do you follow me?"

He laid his stick on the boy's head.

"Yes, sir."

"Sort of a middle-sized, neither big nor small, dark brown dog!"

"Yes," said the youngster.

"What's his name?"

The child was silent.

"What's this dog's name?"

"Caesar. . . ."

"Go," said the other man, "and pet him nicely, the way you always do, and call him by his name. . . ."

The other one raised his foot again and, with its sole on the boy's back, carefully pushed him forward.

"Caesar," said the youngster when, having reached the goat, he put his palm on its head between the horns. "Caesar!"

"And what else do you usually say to him?"

The boy stood there bowed by the goat's neck, his cap in hand, his eyes on the ground.

"My little dog. . . ." he said.

There was silence.

"Come here!"

He left the goat and went up to the armed one, but now he no longer stopped in front of the horse, rather he went all the way to the boot. The armed one lifted the boy's chin. Again he would have liked to swallow, but couldn't because of the boot pressed to his throat; he would have liked to lift up his gaze, but only watched without a move the boot under his face.

"You may go!"

When he was halfway to the old man, the armed one called after him. He turned around, and bent his waist.

"Did you see any people around here?"

"I didn't see any people around here," he said.

He stood there a while longer. The armed ones lit cigarettes, let out the first smoke into the wind, and brought their horses together.

"You can go!" they said then.

The old man had been chopping wood all the time, did not turn around, worked as if no one were about.

And these two stood there behind their backs—the child was gathering, carrying the wood—until they had smoked their cigarettes. They were silent, blew out the smoke, and watched the shepherds. Then they threw away the cigarettes, and one of them picked up the reins, after him the other one too, and, keeping pace with each other, while as they straightened out in the saddle they gave their guns a toss, they rode on.

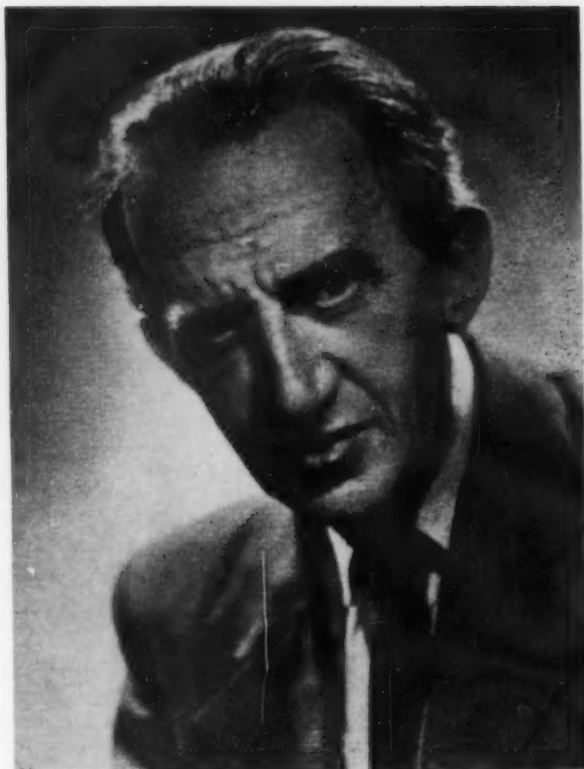
Translated by John Simon

György Lukács

by

GYULA BORBÁNDI

The great intellectual figure of Hungarian Communism is without honor in his own country.



Hungary (Budapest), No. 12, 1955

GYÖRGY LUKÁCS is the most cultivated member of the Hungarian Communist Party and the best known of all Hungarian Communists among Western intellectuals. The respect and fame he now enjoys have been due to his contributions to philosophy, Communist ideology and esthetics. During the years that followed the Second World War his influence on the intellectual life, on literary and philosophical developments in his native country were extraordinary. However, his impact on the contemporary interpretation of Marxism has been much more important than the part he has played in Hungarian life. Along with Ernst Bloch, a German, and Henri Lefebvre, a Frenchman, he may be regarded as the most significant representative of contemporary Marxist thought.

As he attempts to achieve a relatively greater amount of freedom and independence within the confines of Marxist doctrine, he has often been regarded as a deviationist, heretic and revisionist in official Communist circles. György Lukács is one of the targets of the campaign that is now being waged against revisionism. As a result of his conduct previous to and during the Revolt, in November 1956 he was deported from Budapest and held in Romania together with Premier Imre Nagy. In the spring of 1957 he was allowed to return to Budapest; however, he has been

living in complete seclusion ever since, while sustaining a number of ideological attacks leveled against him.

He is now seventy-six years old.

György Lukács was born in Budapest, on April 13, 1885. He came from a well-to-do bourgeois family. His father was a member of the Board of Directors at the Budapest Credit Bank. His childhood was spent in middle-class comfort; he received an excellent education. He soon distinguished himself by his sharp intellect. He was nine years old when he read the Iliad in Hungarian translation.

His first article was published at eighteen: he wrote a criticism of Királyi Idillek (Royal Idylls), a play by the remarkable Sándor Bródy, for the paper *Magyar Szalon* (Hungarian Society). The play was unanimously condemned by contemporary critics: eighteen-year-old György Lukács was the only one to like it.

He started his higher studies at the University of Budapest. In 1906 he became a doctor of political science. He then matriculated in the Department of Philosophy, but the faculty did not come up to his expectations. He left for Germany, first going to Heidelberg and then Munich. At Heidelberg he studied under Heinrich Rickert, the noted axiologist, and Wilhelm Windelband, an exponent of Neo-Kantianism. In Munich he attended courses given by

Max Weber, father of the German school of sociology. This young Hungarian, whose principal interests were philosophy and esthetics, became a brilliant student. After having passed his examinations with honors and obtaining a Ph.D. degree in Munich, he received a scholarship from Berlin. At the University of Berlin, he worked under Wilhelm Dilthey, the famous cultural historian and Professor Georg Simmel, a noted philosopher and sociologist. His intellect, the unusual clarity of his vision, secured him a place of honor in the ranks of the young generation of philosophers and sociologists.

In 1908, at the age of twenty-three, Lukács published a remarkable essay, in German, entitled "Die Entwicklung des modernen Dramas" (The Development of Modern Drama). Published by Athenaeum in Budapest, a Hungarian version of the same book was brought out in 1911 ("A modern dráma fejlődése"). This work won the literary prize of the Kisfaludy Society. His other significant early volume, also published in 1911, in German, bore the title "Die Seele und die Formen" (Mind and Form). A collection of essays, this book contains his best studies on literature and esthetics. The work was a resounding success.

A third great work of the early period, "Die Theorie des Romans" (The Theory of the Novel) was shortly thereafter published in Germany. It contributed several new views and observations to the understanding of the modern novel. Thomas Mann was among those taking cognizance of the young Hungarian scholar; he was not sparing of praise:

"In the person of György Lukács, I have come to know a man whose intellectual horizon, *Weltanschauung* and social creed differ from mine, yet in whom I nevertheless honor and morally admire a strict, pure and proud mind. His critical works, "Mind and Form" and "The Theory of the Novel" are undoubtedly among the most significant ever published in German in their field."

György Lukács stayed in Germany until 1916. The First World War was in full swing, but he was exempted from military service. On the basis of his successes in Germany, he must have believed that he was facing a splendid academic career in Hungary as well. This did not materialize, for Lukács's political views had further and further diverged from those of the ruling classes. In academic circles they could not forgive him for being in touch with progressive literary movements. His writings in Hungarian were published in left-wing periodicals; he did not become even a lecturer at Budapest University.

Lukács joined the free-thinking and progressive Sociological Society and gave lectures for workers and left-wing students at the free university organized by the society. In the meantime, he went on working industriously: he continued with his studies, with his reading and writing. In order to realize his esthetic conceptions, he helped to form an acting group, the Thalia Society, and thus studied the problems of the theater in practice.

A Communist

DURING THE war he kept gravitating toward the political left; by the end of the war he was a Communist. By what process did this scholar, who was by temper an idealist, who had an upper-middle-class background, a Germanic culture and a Western orientation, arrive at this position? For one thing, he had, ever since his early youth, studied and adopted Hegel's dialectical method. Later on, he substituted for Hegel's idealism materialistic doctrines, the teachings of Feuerbach and, subsequently, the tenets of Marx and Engels. For another, his social conscience may have resulted in an internal revolt caused by the difference between the lavish upper-class life and proletarian poverty.

This is what György Lukács himself said about the events preceding his joining the Communist Party and the causes thereof:

"I hated the narrow confines of the system of feudalistic capitalism and monarchical absolutism. At the sight of the war, of the deep internal crisis of the bourgeois world, of the continuously increasing decadence and servility of its culture, I equally turned away with contempt from a democracy of a purely capitalistic character, from the entire imperialist system. And I was disappointed even in the workers' movement, then represented, in a political sense, exclusively by the Social Democrats who were gravely responsible for the war. Under such circumstances, influenced by the spectacle of the imperialist war, I was thrown into a mood of deep pessimism concerning the future of humanity and human civilization, that was to crystallize into an ideological pattern in my work, the "Theory of the Novel." I was awakened from this apathy, from the darkness of a disenchantment destitute of hope, by the Russian Revolution of February . . . especially when I got word of the real landslide, the October Revolution. . . ."¹

Lukács enrolled in the Hungarian Communist Party in December 1918. When, in February 1919, the leaders of the Communist Party were imprisoned by the government of the bourgeois revolution, he took part in organizing the activities of Communists who remained free and in the formation of a new Central Committee. As he stated in the above-mentioned article, it was at this time that he became an active Party worker. After the establishment of the "proletarian dictatorship" on March 21, 1919, he obtained the post of Deputy People's Commissar for Education in the new government. Later he took over the reins of the commissariat. Following the so-called "proletarian mobilization" on May 2, 1919, he went to the front and fought in defense of the northern and eastern boundaries of Hungary against the Czechs and Romanians. The Hungarian government appointed him commissar of the fifth division of the Hungarian Red Army, which fought on the northern frontier. When the dictatorship fell, Lukács for a time stayed in Hungary, engaged in illegal activity. With Commissar Ottó Korvin he set about to organize an underground party. Korvin was soon captured and executed. Lukács succeeded in hiding and later reached Vienna unharmed. Along with his political activities, he there resumed his research on

philosophy and esthetics, interrupted by the revolution. During the dictatorship, Lukács had published mainly ideological political pamphlets. The two most important products that came from his pen during this time were a brochure entitled "Tactics and Ethics,"² and a lecture on the change in the function of historical materialism.³

In Vienna, in his flat on Laudongasse, he devoted himself chiefly to scholarship, but at the same time took part in the newly-organized activities of the exiled Hungarian Communists. In 1921 he appeared at the Third Congress of the Communist International in Moscow as a Hungarian delegate. There he met Lenin. Returning to Vienna, he started on an old project of his, a work on the Marxist interpretation of history and sociology. Yet he still actively participated in Party life and even spent three months illegally in Hungary in 1929 as a Party Secretary. In the factional struggles dividing the Hungarian Communist Party he sided with Jenő Landler's group and opposed the line followed by Béla Kun.

His important historical and sociological work, "Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein" (History and Social Class Consciousness), mentioned above, appeared in 1923. In it he forecast, on the basis of historical determinism, the victory of historical materialism, as a result of which "the blind laws of matter will be replaced by the purposive, planning will of the future Socialist order." In this work Lukács exercised double criticism. He censured both capitalism and "vulgarized Marxism," which deviates from orthodox Marxism. The book elicited praise from some quarters and indignation and criticism from others. The Soviet Party, which was progressing in the direction of a centralist bureaucracy, did not let Lukács's activities and "esthetic partisanship" go without comment. It immediately pounced on his allegedly reformist, revisionist tenets. Though the work as a whole may be considered as one of the greatest products of Marxist philosophy and historical scholarship, the Moscow Party headquarters did not take into consideration the favorable effects that it was to engender in Western progressive circles; favorable, that is, from a Communist point of view. In "History and Social Class Consciousness," which has never been published in Hungarian, Lukács was actually defending Marx and Engels against contemporary vulgarization and falsification, especially as it was rampant in the Soviet Party. The Party directorate immediately understood Lukács's intent and reacted energetically against it. On the Hungarian side, László Rudas assumed the role of official prosecutor. He rejected Lukács's "heretical" statements and, amusingly, set Bukharin before him as an example. "Bukharin," wrote Rudas, "is well known to be one of the greatest masters of a popular and yet scholarly literary style." Naturally, Rudas could not possibly suspect at the time that, in a few years, the example himself would be transformed into a traitor and an enemy who was to be mercilessly executed by Stalin when he emerged as a potential rival.

Lukács's book was put on the Party index; it was not available in Communist libraries. After 1945, it was impossible to get a copy of it in Hungary. "Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein" remains one of the targets of anti-

Lukács arguments. It was cited in those inquisitorial writings attacking him in 1949 and 1950; it is being quoted now when Lukács's recent "revisionist deviations" and fluctuations are censured. József Révai, by the way, who became one of Lukács's staunchest enemies in the Hungarian Party, not merely because he saw a dangerous rival in Lukács but also because he, as opposed to Lukács, always faithfully adhered to the Moscow line, had called this book a masterpiece in the twenties. Of course, in 1949 he branded it as a harmful work. Lukács himself says he regards "Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein" as obsolete and misleading. We cannot tell how great a part is played in this judgment by the book's relationship to present Communist ideology and the official Party line, but it remains a fact that Lukács flatly rejected those overtures from abroad that were aimed at the publication of a new edition of the work.⁴

The Blum Theses

During the first decades of his exile, Lukács came into conflict with the Moscow Party headquarters and the leaders of the Communist International from other points of view as well. Lenin himself upbraided him for his "erroneous" and "deviationist" views in an article "On the Problem of Parliamentarism." He was in constant disagreement with the leadership of the Hungarian Party too, but self-criticism saved him from being thrown out of the Party on each occasion. The greatest storm about him flared up in connection with the so-called Blum theses ("Blum" was Lukács's pseudonym). Toward the end of 1928, Lukács worked out a project to prepare the second Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party. The resulting pamphlet analyzed the state of Hungarian politics and outlined the policies to be followed by the Party. Entitled "Outline of the Hungarian Political and Economic Situation and the Tasks of the Hungarian Communist Party,"⁵ the Blum theses were conceived in the spirit of the struggle against sectarianism. Their underlying premise is that what must be attempted in Hungary is not the creation of a proletarian dictatorship but of a democratic transformation. According to Lukács, this democratic transformation must be achieved through the "democratic dictatorship of the working class and of the peasantry." This conception was opposed to the views of Béla Kun, then head of the Hungarian Party. Kun believed that in Hungary, since there had already been a proletarian dictatorship in the country, the creation of a democracy, even of a democratic dictatorship, would be impossible: proletarian dictatorship was the only form of society that the Communists must strive for. According to Lukács, "democratic dictatorship" would be a transitional phase between bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship that should follow the fall of the Bethlen administration then in power in Hungary.

The Blum theses occasioned an extraordinarily fiery debate. Not only the leadership of the Hungarian Party but even the Comintern dealt with them. The Comintern addressed an open letter to the Hungarian Party in this matter, strongly rejecting Lukács's conception concerning

the timeliness and necessity of creating a joint peasant-worker dictatorship. The Second Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party, which took place in February and March 1930, branded the pamphlet as an erroneous, opportunist document because of its revisionist spirit. György Lukács, as he so often had done before and was to do in the future, exercised self-criticism, agreeing that he represented a "right-wing point of view" in the study. He acknowledged, in a letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party, that (a) "the perspective of a Hungarian democratic dictatorship as a transitional phase between the present regime and the dictatorship of the proletariat is a right-wing deviation"; (b) "the second Hungarian revolution cannot aim at a level lower than the first; that is to say, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be followed by a democratic dictatorship"; (c) "in Hungary it is not democratic dictatorship that should be the order of the day but instead a Socialist proletarian revolution."⁶

In 1956, after the rehabilitation of Lukács and the ensuing philosophical discussion in the Petöfi Circle, the Budapest Institute of Party History likewise discussed the Blum theses; Lukács himself took part in the debate. In the course of this discussion, Lukács retracted his self-criticism of 1930. The following quote is an exact transcription of what he said.

"It is well known that I exercised self-criticism concerning the Blum theses, recognizing their right-wing tendencies. Now, after a quarter of a century, it can be stated that this self-criticism was not dictated by conviction at the time but by the knowledge that Béla Kun and his associates would have otherwise had me locked out of the Comintern. My literary activity since 1930, though dealing with different subjects, shows that I have not rejected the essence of the Blum theses."⁷

Of course, these conflicts with the Party leadership and with the leading members of the Comintern did not take place without certain consequences, in spite of the fact that, by the mid-thirties, political developments and the policies of world Communism bore out Lukács's words. The Fascist rise to power, the victory of the French popular front and, most of all, the seventh Congress of the Comintern, justified Lukács's concepts regarding his views as expressed in the Blum theses. Though he was not barred from the Party after the rejection of these theses, he was stripped of his former post in the Party hierarchy and had to step down as editor-in-chief of *Kommunismus*, the ideological organ of the Hungarian Party, published in Vienna. Lukács accepted this humiliation without a word of comment. He obediently listened to every Party decision and condemnation, and continued patiently working on his

new projects. Almost all of his principal works gave rise to grave complications. In the end, his searching and creative spirit laid down its arms. He capitulated to the bureaucrats and Party functionaries. The Party member overcame the scholar; independent thought in him sold out to Party discipline.

(To Be Continued)

NOTES FOR THIS ARTICLE

¹ *UJ VILAG* (New World), April 21, 1955.

² *TAKTIKA ÉS ETIKA* (Tactics and Ethics), published by the Commissariat, 1919.

³ "A történelmi materializmus funkcióváltása" (The Change of Function of Historical Materialism), in *Internacionálé* (The International) v. 1919. nos. 8-9.

⁴ A characteristic example of this is provided by a letter, written in German to a friend abroad on June 28, 1960. Following is the English translation of this letter published in *Panorama*, Munich, September, 1960, vol. 4, no. 9:

"When, several years ago, certain parts of my book, 'History and Social Class Consciousness,' were published in French periodicals, I protested against this in the French press. The publishing house Minuit brought out this book without even having previously asked for my consent. When I object to this, I do not do so merely from formal motives concerning the copyright but, above all, on essential, scientific grounds. I hold this book, which was published in 1923, to be not merely obsolete and out of date but, with regard to the elucidation of present philosophical problems, misleading and therefore dangerous. In the fight for the establishment of objectivity in the scientific representation of reality, dialectical materialism plays an increasingly more and more important part. As I wrote 'History and Social Class Consciousness' at a time of transition from the objective idealism of Hegel to dialectical materialism and as it represents both points of view in an inorganic mixture, today it can only lead to confusion in the reader. It is for this reason that I am opposed to its publication."

⁵ This document was divided into five parts. 1. The condition of the Hungarian Communist Party at the First Party Congress and its development up to the Congress of 1928. 2. Fundamental changes within the Bethlen regime and the social classes. 3. The condition of the working classes. 4. The activities of the Hungarian Communist Party since the Congress. 5. The main problems of the present situation. The first and fourth chapters as well as parts A and D of Chapter Five were published in the October, 1956 issue of *Párttörténeti Közlemények* (Journal of Party History). The same issue contains the discussion held in the Institute of Party History on June 20, 1956.

⁶ *Párttörténeti Közlemények* (Journal of Party History), October, 1956. See also Dr. Pál Földi, "Még egyszer a Lukács-kérdésről; Adalékok a Blum-teszisek értékeléséhez" (Once again on the Lukács Problem: Data Contributing to the Further Evaluation of the Blum theses), in *Népújság* (The People's Paper), June 2, 3, 4 and 5.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

Gyula Borbándi, author of the article above, was a student of philosophy and a young critic before he escaped from Hungary. He now lives in Western Europe and edits *UJ LÁTÓHATÁR* (NEW HORIZON).

Through Yugoslav Eyes

The Yugoslav press frequently comments on life in the countries of the Communist bloc, and publishes dispatches of more than passing interest from correspondents stationed inside those countries. These glimpses of the orthodox Communist world through the eyes of a maverick Communist press often contains facts and observations not to be found in the writings of orthodox friends and foes.

USSR: Fashion Is Official

The increase in volume and variety of consumer goods is leading to a buyers' market and new standards of taste and fashion.

A RELATIVE paucity of consumer goods existed for a long time [in the USSR]. This applied not only to the quantity but also the quality and variety. It is impossible to separate quality and variety from what we call fashion.

"Today many people say that they do not recognize the streets of Moscow. The reason is simple. Moscow has started to 'catch up' with the fashions. The old slogan, don't try to keep up with fashion, has obviously been discarded. *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*, an economic journal of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, wrote recently that 'this phrase obviously served to justify backwardness. Now fashions can and must be kept up.'

"This, like many other new steps, originated directly from Premier Khrushchev. His first attack on the manner of dress in the USSR came several years ago when he said that Russian clothes had not changed since the time of Alexander II. Khrushchev said that the most awkward piece of clothing then as now is the *vatnik*, a 'breast-binder' lined with cotton, which because of the climate here can be worn eight months out of the year. As a result of this statement, the *vatniks* began to be relegated to the cellars. Subsequently Khrushchev said: 'The first task is to improve substantially the assortment and quality of production.'

"It seems that these goals are now about to be realized, because all plans for increasing consumer goods have already been exceeded. The Seven Year Plan for consumer goods production called for an annual increase of 6.6 percent. According to statistics it is increasing by 10.3 percent. Soviet planning experts calculate that the goal of the Seven Year Plan to increase consumer goods by 62 to 65 percent will be achieved much earlier.

"The planned capital investments in the consumer goods and food industry amount to 80-85 billion rubles, twice that

of the previous Seven Year Plan. In the spring of this year, however, the government decided to invest an additional 25 to 30 billion rubles in the textile and leather industry. These investments, as well as changes in the general plan and intentions, have already increased production of mass consumer goods this year. Light industry has been concentrated upon with a zeal scarcely known before.

"In the first six months of this year, the Soviet Union also experienced a substantial increase of production, from 8 to 36 percent over last year, in the other branches of light industry. Thus, in the first half of the year, the USSR produced 210 million pairs of shoes (or 10 percent more than in the previous six months), 796,000 television sets (36 percent more), 256,000 refrigerators (19 percent more), 20 percent more furniture, etc. . . . According to the plan, 2,000 new industrial plants in the field of light and food industry are to be constructed by 1965.

"Now, when the problem of volume has been resolved to a certain extent and great efforts are being made to improve quality and assortment, the demand of *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta* that fashions ought to be kept up with is perfectly reasonable.

"New designs for which much money is spent—writes the paper—are not created for the purpose of being admired at exhibitions. They must be produced in large quantities according to the season.

"This situation has also affected retailing. Previously, one could hear salespeople say indifferently: 'Take it or leave it.' There was no merchandise and people took what was offered. . . . Salespeople, in fact, simply distributed their wares. Today they can no longer do this. Economic laws are in operation. There are more goods and consumers really 'shop.' They do not want to buy merchandise which is of poor quality or which they don't like. Therefore, under the conditions wherein everything is planned in detail, many difficulties arise. In the future there will also be difficulties in overcoming the existing problems, but the important thing is what the Muscovites emphasize today: There are more goods." (*Borba* [Belgrade], October 4, 1960.)

Poland: Again—the Younger Generation

How authorities are dealing with problem youths and youth problems.

THE SAYING is in Poland: there was a generation of commandos during the war, then the great builders of Socialism and the rehabilitation of the country, subsequently a generation with borrowed ideals and disappointments, and now there enters a new, the fourth, generation, those born in 1944 and 1945. The family, the school, the State and political-social organizations take care of them. These all try to find the true purpose of the new generation and to define it. In doing so, unrealistic embellishments and statements are made and there also exists an emotional and unrealistic alarm. One thing is certain: between those with red neckties (the symbol of Socialist enthusiasts) and those with red stockings and other signs of a belated and naive existentialism, as well as others who do not wash, and the hooligans who have become rarer, there is an entire range of variegated, not yet fully formed images and conceptions flying in the whirlwind of conflicting influences. A routine division into 'positive' and 'negative,' or routine work with them, is useless. This is confirmed by the practice of life from which the following fragments have been taken.

"Twenty Angry Men"

"Twenty young people organized a 'demonstration' in the small town of Jarocin. Walking in 'goose file' they



The Soviet people are beginning to dress better. A young customer being fitted at the Child's World Department Store in Moscow.
USSR (Moscow), December 1960

moved slowly from the park in the street to the district committee of the Socialist Youth. The boy marching in front had affixed on his coat a 'protest': We demand entertainment. Two boys from the group tried to talk to the Secretary of the Youth Committee but they could not find him. Soon afterwards the crime board of the district committee sentenced them to a punishment more severe than that given to drunks who create disorders in the streets. The Provincial Committee, on the appeal of one of the boys, ordered a new trial. The Jarocin board increased the punishment. In the eyes of the local authorities the case was exaggerated 'out of all proportion.' The youths, however, did not receive the hut which they wanted to adopt for their meetings and entertainment. In the meantime, the remark 'unfit' was tacked on to the names of these boys. One of them was seen in the square with a wide belt around his waist with a wooden 'Colt' [revolver]. 'Just imagine, a Colt!' the 'responsible' people shouted. But the boys were not intimidated. The epilogue was a surprise for the 'guardians of order.' The twenty 'angry men' obtained from the District Committee of the Party nothing less than the Committee's conference hall for meetings and diversions when it was not otherwise in use. The board for 'violations' filed the 'case,' the Youth League committee was left to think over its role in the entire matter, and the 'Colt' was forgotten.

About A Girl Called Margaret

"That is her pseudonym. When she was 16 years old, she was boss of a group of hooligans who were stealing money. Before the court she confessed to more offenses than she had committed. The judges understood the situation: she was boasting, playing a hero. They sent her to the youth re-education home. Her real name was in the newspaper columns for more than a year, until quite recently. . . . Subsequently, the youth paper *Sztandar Młodych* published a letter which she had written to the editor from the reformatory:

"Dear editor: When I committed the offenses I was a minor. Since many good people helped me in the reformatory I have changed and become a better girl. I wish to study after I leave the reformatory, and to return to the ranks of good people. But, dear editor, are there not many people who are worse than me, but whom the press never writes about or only mentions in a few words. Last year the press was writing about me so ruthlessly that my mother had a nervous breakdown. Such publicity was never given even to murderers. Have I not suffered enough, must I suffer more? Could you help me so that the papers don't write about me any more?"

"The paper made no comment on the letter.

Meetings of Polite Students

"It is a fact that the majority of students in Poland are not interested in social questions and general political problems. At the second student congress the delegates asked themselves: 'What ought to be done?' In their search for reasons and tasks they reached the conclusion that students

should receive more political education through school programs and youth organizations. The Socialist Youth League has not been able to offer to the youth, apart from entertainment, more serious discussions on the world, ethical problems and such. In this situation some school leaders introduced 'social-political care of the youth.' These qualified as additional courses without fees. But the youth groups which attended these lessons were characterized as 'docile students.' The atmosphere of these sessions, according to *Trybuna Ludu*, is the worst enemy of good work among the students.

"The next plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth League, which will discuss the social-political activity of the students, is expected to take new initiatives 'to enable the school organizations in their work to switch from quantity to quality.'" (*Politika* [Belgrade], October 26, 1960.)

USSR: A City Which Is No City

Magnitogorsk, center of the metallurgical industry, has a population of 300,000 but has never been officially "recognized" as a city in its own right.

FIRST CAME the builders, then the miners, the steel workers and others. The construction of the famous metallurgical combine, the capital of Soviet industry, began. The combine was built and, around it, a small factory village which eventually became a city. It was the combine's city. So it was regarded and still is.

"In the meantime dozens of other factories arose and the city spread to the other bank of the river. . . . The small village became a big modern city, the scientific and cultural heart of the South Ural.

"But the people behind the desks and papers apparently do not take cognizance of changes as readily as the granite rocks of the Ural. The city of Magnitogorsk does not exist in the heads of these people and on paper. There exists, as before, only the Magnitogorsk metallurgical combine.

"The combine owns all the means of the communal economy. It literally manages everything. The executive committee of the municipal soviet has no foundation. It is an executive agency with nothing to execute. Almost all the buildings in Magnitogorsk are owned by the combine. Quite naturally, it has its own department of housing, the UKH (administration of the communal economy). The other factories imitate the combine and have their own UKH too. These also have their own buildings.

"The enterprises, in this way, have divided the city into sectors and each of them rules in its sector. The water supply system, the sewer system and the electricity plants, however, are owned by the combine and managed by it. When it needs more current it simply cuts down the supply to the city. The combine management does not even ask the municipal committee whether or not to cut down. The same holds for the water supply. The combine rules.

"The municipal rapid transit system runs according to a schedule drawn up by the combine and, for this reason, meets primarily the requirements of the combine. The needs

of the rest of the population, of institutions and organizations, are not taken into consideration. . . . The main complications, however, are brought about by the housing set-up. For example, a couple get married. The husband works in the combine, the wife in another factory. Each of them had their own room. They now want to exchange their rooms for an apartment or a joint room. Their request, however, is rejected because the two rooms belong to different enterprises. In Magnitogorsk people are surprised to learn that in other parts of the country apartments even in different cities can be exchanged.

"Of course, in this situation it is not possible to provide for architectonic harmony in the city. The center is modern, clean and beautiful. At the periphery, everybody builds any way it suits him.

"The repair and upkeep of buildings is also a problem. The combine has everything necessary, but other factories fall behind. At the same time, cashier's offices, controllers and other offices have progressively increased in the UKH of the Combine, which alone employs 385 white-collar workers. The UKH of 'Magnitostroj' [enterprise] has 89 people in its service. *Izvestia* wrote a short time ago that the First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party has said that if the administrative apparatus of the Combine UKH would switch to work in the municipal soviet, all other administrations and sections of the communal economy could disband without detriment.

"The management of the combine and the Cheljabinsk Council of National Economy still look through glasses 20 and more years old, and see only the combine. But now a very pointed demand is made that the city should be one, and the legal ruler—the municipal soviet." (*Borba* [Belgrade], November 4, 1960.)

Albania: The Haunting of Yugoslav Diplomats

How Yugoslav diplomatic officials in Albania are harassed and obstructed by the Albanian authorities.

WHEN A Yugoslav with a diplomatic or official pass enters Albania, the procedure at the border is complicated. The Albanian officials become a 'magnifying glass,' acting as if trying to find something they have been searching for for years. A detailed examination of the luggage and cars of Yugoslavs with official passports has become an obsession with the Albanian border authorities.

"Despite their valid visas, the Yugoslavs are detained by the border guards until the latter have informed the first district town or the next police office. The agents who usually escort our citizens appear at once; cars follow the Yugoslav cars on the road until the premises of the Yugoslav legation in Tirana is reached.

"What is the purpose of this escort, what are the Albanian authorities afraid of? Have they still not understood the fact that they are engaged in a sterile business and have been since more than a decade ago? Unfortunately, it is obvious that they have not. Because if they had,

they would have stopped running after Yugoslav travellers for some years. The race on the road from the border to Tirana would cease, a race which only costs the Albanian authorities time, gasoline and money.

"In Tirana, every Yugoslav legation officer has one, two or three escorts. When our official goes into a store the escort stands by the scale; when a Yugoslav goes to a clinic or a hospital the escort goes with him as far as the door and sometimes opens the door to the doctor's office slightly. The escorts of the Yugoslavs are ever-present in cafes, theaters or at official receptions. They enter groceries and fruit stores, every place where a Yugoslav could meet an ordinary Albanian citizen. When the Yugoslavs go to the beaches the escorts go too. They go into the water and go out of it, and bask in the sun at always the same distance. They do this without any attempt at concealment, because it is difficult to conceal and also because they want their presence to be noticed.

"In Tirana our officials' escorts have motor vehicles. Their cars always park near the Yugoslav legation. They start up the moment the Yugoslav car moves and they maintain a distance of 10 to 15 meters. At night the distance is reduced and, moreover, the Yugoslav cars are kept under the powerful light of the reflectors of the escorting cars. Sometimes there are two escorting cars, depending on the number of passengers in the Yugoslav car. In such cases one of the Albanian cars leads and dictates the speed, [and sometimes] stops and applies the brakes suddenly. In this way they terrify women and children in the Yugoslav cars. When the Albanian car misses the direction, it returns very fast, overtakes the Yugoslav car, and again takes the lead. The Yugoslav driver must have strong nerves to cope with the permanent threat of a collision.

[The article continues with a description of other vexations: The refusal to issue drivers' licenses to members of the Yugoslav legation, even to a professional chauffeur with 25 years' experience, etc. Yugoslav pedestrians are also continually escorted. And the Office for Diplomatic Services at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs constantly thwarts the Yugoslav requests:]

"Our legation, according to the agreement on mutual maintenance of the diplomatic representations, asked for painting and redecorating and for the renovation of some parts of the building. The office for 'diplomatic services' sent the men [but] when they arrived they stated that they didn't have the materials. Material was hastily sent from our country but the painting was not done because of holidays. Despite many solicitations the renovation of the legation building has not been done yet.

"The legation's telephone is frequently out of order . . . when the electricity in the legation is out of order, usually in the afternoon, the building is without light until the next morning, since the Office for Diplomatic Services works only in the morning. . . . When a Yugoslav has to have his shoes repaired, he must turn to the Office because not one shoemaker can accept Yugoslav shoes. It had been agreed that our officials apply for medical service directly to the hospital. But now this has been forbidden and the Yugoslavs must ask for medical service through the Office.

When the child of one of our diplomats fell ill this year, the doctor did not come despite all requests by our legation. Although the child had a fever of [about 103] at midnight the doctor did not appear until six hours later. This is not only a violation of the agreement on medical service but of humanitarian and ethical norms in dealing with people.

"The official translator for the legation, an Albanian citizen, left the legation in May. Upon inquiry at the Office for Diplomatic Services it was announced that he was sick and did not want to work for the legation any longer. The Albanian Foreign Ministry did not answer a further inquiry.

"At the beginning of the year [1960], the Russian language instructor, who was teaching one of our diplomats, disappeared. The Office informed the legation that she too was ill. At the same time the gardeners left and the Office refused to recommend a driver.

"All employees who were referred to the Yugoslav legation by the Office for Diplomatic Services have left without giving notice, and the Office has not assigned new ones.

"Our legation is not able to have any contact with our citizens in Albania. They are forbidden to come to the legation to settle consular matters. The Yugoslav Mission cannot contact them by letter or in any other way (concerning visas, passports, etc.): letters are returned marked 'this person does not exist.' When our diplomats want a visa for Yugoslavia, their own country, they have to request it 24 hours in advance. Nowhere in the world are such difficulties made for diplomats. This visa is valid for one month but it can only be used for crossing the border with a border police permit. This permit is only valid for one day, and if the Yugoslav does not get to the border while the sun is still on the horizon, he will be turned back and has to ask again for a permit the next morning which again is valid only one day. . . .

"What do the Albanian authorities want to accomplish with these actions? Do they perhaps wish to demonstrate that the anti-Yugoslav political campaign of many years has not been successful even at home?" (*Borba* [Belgrade], October 16, 1960.)

China: The Causes of the Agricultural Crisis

Official explanations and discreet speculations about the economic failures in Communist China.

"I NTENSIFICATION of efforts on the agricultural front to eliminate bottlenecks in the supply of agricultural produce to the population is one of the chief slogans recently put forth by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The decision to concentrate the efforts of the Chinese masses on this front was taken at the recent plenum which, as announced, considered China's current economic problems.

"The seriousness of China's economic situation, and in particular of the state of the population's supplies, emerges not only from the communique published after the ple-

(Continued on page 45)

A FRAGMENT FROM

Letters to Mme Z.

by

KAZIMIERZ BRANDYS

Kazimierz Brandys, born in 1916, began his literary career shortly before the last war. His most recent and best-known works include *THE ROMAN HOTEL*, *THE MOTHER OF KROLE* and *THE DEFENSE OF GRANADA*. The following excerpt is taken from the volume *LISTY DO PANI Z.*, a series of essays in letter form containing the writer's reflections on a tour of Western Europe. The essay was recently reprinted in *POLISH PERSPECTIVES* (Warsaw), an English-language monthly review.

WHEN I travel abroad I break all the rules. I make no effort to get to know the country or make contacts with the population; I do not chat with the locals and I have also washed my hands of trying to find out what it is that makes modern youth tick. Not long ago for these same reasons I declined a visit to *Stodola*.^{*} It had been explained to me that this was where this enigmatic youth went dancing and that it was worth seeing. I do not intend to go. Let them be problems—but count me out. I, too, was once a problem but nobody came to gape at me dancing. Does there always have to be some barn which we are urged to visit in order to see life? Seven years ago it was the peasantry who was the problem child; today it is youth. Formerly people worked themselves up over harvest campaigns; now it is rock'n'roll. I am an elderly man and have had my fill of sensations.

So quite simply, I stroll around, peer at the sights, and move on. The thought that I might have to write reportage makes my hair stand on end. I do not notice problems, I am incapable of drawing conclusions, I have no professional interests. Writing is not a profession but rather the road to a profession. It is a blend of addiction and ambition and no more horrible mixture has yet been invented. Taken separately these two are just tolerable. For instance, you can be addicted to morphine, and have ambitions to design machinery. But to be a drug addict and be ambitious over your own addiction—this is the hell that goes by the name of artistic creation.

I am told that its products have a certain meaning for the world. Much has been written about this. But nothing so far that can be taken as gospel. Art hinges on imponderables, there are no rules, and no one knows what to go on. Even such certainties as the unity of content and form are far from axiomatic. You can claim this unity in the case of, say, a shoe where the content of a shoe is a foot and its form is also a foot; but I have serious doubts whether the same thing applies to Shakespeare.

And there are a whole number of other uncertainties. You yourself are, let us suppose, writing a novel; you are pleased with its progress and expect to have it finished within a month or two. And then out of the blue an article appears in which the writer proves that the novel as a genre is dead. You have still to finish your book and here it has finished itself for you. What now? To this question, of course, the answer is not provided. You are

left in a state of horrid uncertainty. Nothing here stands to reason, there are no criteria. Success is often the reward of mediocrity, failure—the fate of genius. Your creative agony? Hacks, too, suffer from these labour pains, while Dostoevsky is said to have written fluently and fast. You have something of your own to say? Everyone is certain that he has something of his own to say. Almost every one of my non-writing acquaintances is profoundly convinced that the only reason they did not become writers is lack of time.

This makes their attitude to writers one full of complexes and suspicions. Writing is not the same as playing the cello, which requires training and practice, the mastering of a skill, to say nothing of being able to read music. But writing? Everyone can write: today seventeen-year-old schoolgirls are winning world-wide notoriety with autobiographies written under their desks during math classes. All it needs is a little time and a little nerve. The greatest masterpieces have been inspired by the same principles. Reading them in bed, you think to yourself: "Here I was spending my time going to the office while he was writing just what I have always felt, only he has dressed it up a little out of his imagination." Then you yawn, put away the book in the middle of some brilliant passage (over which the author sweated for a month) and next morning announce at work: "Good book, that." In this way literature becomes the property of the nation; that is, everyone considers himself a shareholder, for deep down he feels that something has been stolen from him; he has come across his own truth recorded by someone else.

Writers are aware of this; it is here, I think, that they get their feeling of debt toward society. Chekhov, at the height of his fame, used to write in his letters of a nagging thought that worried away at him after anything of his had been published, insisting that he was engaged in a swindle, a confidence trick played on the rest of the world. This is, probably, an egregious example of moral sensitivity; Chekhov literally felt responsible for evil. He was a truly melancholy writer, a writer-scapegoat; he hated wrongs the way other people hate their enemies. (He once went hunting with a friend, and they shot a hare. Chekhov was prostrate: he did not speak, he did not eat his dinner, and he got a temperature. The next day he told his wife in a funereal voice: "Two old fools went to the woods and murdered a helpless creature.") To deny the writer his sense of guilt, to smother in him the gnawings of responsibility is the worst form of pettiness that the writer can

^{*} Literally "The Barn," a students' club in Warsaw.

expect from his public. Unfortunately it is shown him all too frequently.

For me Chekhov's most important story is *Ward 6*. Do you remember it? It is the story of a doctor in a Russian town and a hospital ward in which there are three mentally ill patients, an intellectual carrying on a debate with God and his conscience, a civil servant with a morbid fetish about distinctions and a peasant wallowing like an animal in his own excrement. All of them are terrorized by a warden wielding a truncheon. It is not difficult to get the point. *Ward 6* is Tsarist Russia. The doctor, a decent and thoughtful man, cannot find peace of mind; the nightmare of this room preys on him. He has long conversations with the intellectual in which he argues about liberty and the spirit; he tries to help the other two. In vain: the only thing he achieves is to arouse the suspicions of others; people start avoiding him, and *Ward 6* becomes for him the binding reality, with everything outside losing its sense. Eventually the inevitable happens. He is put into the institution, becomes a patient in *Ward 6* and a victim of the bludgeoning of the warden's truncheon.

This is one of the most powerful of realist metaphors; the condensation has been worked out through the simplest of means and the symbol is expressed in a straightforward, human situation. What always astonishes me in the great realists is their ability to show the whole through a part, a process in an incident, a general phenomenon in a particular instance. There has always been a body of writing which rejects this technique as unnecessary or overworked. We then have a puncturing and a fracture of the visible dimensions of reality; in this case the normative imagination does not find an outlet through a construction of facts but vice-versa: the imaginative construction becomes the normative fact. These two kinds of vision have always been in conflict and a mutual aversion has for a long time separated them. In Poland, I think, we are headed for a bitter clash between them. There is no need to shed any tears over this; this is only as it should be. We should also be patient with those geniuses for whom Socialism means the gradual ripening of the masses to an understanding of abstract art. A realistic view of the world runs deep in man, but he feels a no less urgent need for breaking out of the cage of objective reality. To the question "what does it mean?" (one of the most important questions in art) a reply can be composed from concrete historical substance, but a substance can also be created which exists only subjectively. Here certainly lies one of the basic divisions in art: what is in me must be expressed in what is outside me: and what is outside me must be destroyed to express what is in me.

Both these attitudes or kinds of vision are viable and creative; both subordinate reality, investing it with a moral and philosophical meaning. Each would be only too happy to be the death of the other, but there is room in art for both.

I am boring you today. Morality and the attitude of the artist are concepts that have already become debased here; a year and a half was enough. What is the point of talking about ethics in times when machinery can be fitted with moral reflexes and all a man needs to know is his

size in collars and shoes, his address and date of birth, and every week six magic numbers are published in the press which may provide a complete escape in this life. We are entering the age of distractions; editorials clamour for entertainment for the nation: Down with moralizing; have your fling before you go to sleep—this is the motto of the advocates of secularization. The Matysiaks* will soon have a statue erected to them outside the Writers' Club, mark my word.

Films, television, radio and comics. No sane person can minimize the new instruments of influencing the masses. The screen, the loudspeaker and strip cartoons deliver their message to more people than the novel with a moral. Let me remind you that the novel or romance was once designed as pure entertainment, to tell a story and to move. Philosophy, psychology and studies of manners and morals were only grafted onto the plot later. Today we can see this process in something like reverse. Storytelling has been taken over by the film, philosophy by science, psychology and morals by modern sociology. These are the three powers that have partitioned the novel. Will there be anything left to it at all?

At a certain hour each evening the whole of Verona gathers round its television sets. The same happens in Perugia and Ravenna, in Udine, Padua and Assisi. Bars, taverns and cafés have now become the hub of family and community life with the television set replacing the spinning-wheel or hearth. Chairs are placed in rows, the front seats are occupied by grandmothers and children, behind are their parents, relatives and friends. The witching hour begins. The *patrone* and waiters freeze behind the bar; should some casual customer come in now, he immediately takes a seat in the last row or props himself up against the bar, gaping at the screen like a lunatic. Children lick lollipops, old people snooze, bemused girls let the arms of their boy-friends slip round their waists. The same thing happens in Rome at the same hour in the vast "Doney's" coffee house on the *Vittorio Veneto*—with this difference: the clientele is more expensively dressed. The grandmothers here sit in fur stoles, their hair has a violet rinse, their nails are painted silver. But the working of the spell is identical. For two or three hours millions of viewers are riveted in a hypnotic trance. It is a state of pleasant vacuity, concentration without strain, excitement without danger. Boredom is dispelled, thoughts of old age and death are banished by turning a knob, unfulfilled dreams and social divisions are compensated in the kaleidoscopic images dancing on the screen, where everything is open to everybody.

Here is the modern face of mass influence. The television set is today's fairground booth in which the masses can see all the wonders of the world. Around this box with its magic window a new set of habits is forming. The crowd today is naïve and trusting; it can be disciplined—provided the process is indiscernible: the gospel for the illiterate must be easily assimilable. The power and range of this influence has now come home to governments;

* A family in a popular radio serial, more or less a soap-opera.

television has been the subject of a statement by the Pope, the leaders of great powers use the medium for interviews, television personalities have become the dictators of public opinion. Add to this the thousands of illustrated papers, Western and gangster magazines, radio shows, films and sketches, and then ask yourself whether literature fulfils any need at all in these modern times.

Fifty years ago *Ward 6* was read by the Russian intelligentsia; today as a television feature or cinema screenplay it would reach the whole population. The screenplay of *La Strada* is a fair piece of writing; the film made from it has all the marks of a masterpiece and I can see nothing that puts it below, say, Flaubert's *A Simple Heart*. We are witnesses to the conquest of a certain type of literature by new techniques of artistic communication. If a synthesis of happenings, conversations and situations can be expressed more powerfully on the screen than in print, if a philosophical conclusion can be stated more exactly in an Einstein equation than in a character's stream of consciousness, if new social and psychological truths are the preserve of research and scientific writings, then I ask myself what is there left for the literary work written in prose and published in print. Is there still any territory outside television and films, magazines and thrillers, the exact sciences and sociological analysis, in which a writer can play his part without duplicating these other fields, a part that is authoritative, independent and original? "Today I write for my twenty friends; it's as if my books were being thrown down a well, and I don't know who reads them. But I can't write about anything other than what I have to say. I feel like some down-at-heel crank and it won't be long before children start pointing me out in the street." These and similar confessions you can hear today from more than one writer who instead of yielding sensibly to mass needs has stubbornly insisted on sitting in judgment over the visible world.

At the house of my friends in Rome, Poles by descent, I came across a few familiar titles on the shelves, including Camus' *The Stranger*. It had been stuck between a book of Moravia stories and some Warsaw or Cracow historical publication, yellow with age. Memories immediately rushed back to me of an evening in some hotel, exactly ten years earlier, when I first read this book, which is neither a novel nor a long short story nor an essay nor a memoir. But its very first sentences jolt you with the simple, intense power of their moral charge. It is a book to be read at a sitting, with your heart in your mouth; it leaves you with the feeling of having been through a cataclysm. In this story of a humble clerk who has killed an Arab, there is a plot, even a love interest; there is philosophy and psychology. But the essence of the meaning of this book is to be drawn out of its form—a form frightening in its impersonal subjectivity—and out of its "I," who is the witness and reporter of his own tragedy. This story would lend itself to adaptation into a film or television screenplay, and its raw bones could then be exposed to an audience of a few million. The title itself—*The Outsider*—also suggests a confluence in its vision of present-day human affairs with some of the theories of contemporary sociology. But the shock which

you feel after reading these hundred or so pages of print could only be administered by a writer.

A man who wants to tell the truth about himself is a stranger to other men; there are no ties between them. The simplest reflexes, the senses, and the function of observation—that is all, the whole truth about a man. He is an isolated being as similar to others as he is a stranger to them all, condemned to his own hearing, sight and touch, imprisoned in his physiology. No man is a social being until he performs an action that calls down society's judgement on him. A man's interior is an area barren of moral sentiments. He is only dragged into the harsh light of the law after an act that strikes at the order of the system. Then this atomized world of insular existences whose only mutual ties are proximity turns into the machinery of justice and offers him the choice of perjury or death.

This short book is a paradigm of the world's most fearful experiences. It contains not a word about genocide and political crimes, about Fascism and war. But the world shown in it is a devastated world and man a being torn up inside. Camus has laid bare the enormous crater, in which mankind is picking and scratching, a cavity that has formed in place of exploded ideas and values. *The Outsider* is the ultimate indictment of the community for its treatment of the individual and an exposure of the standards that operate when it comes into contact with individual truth and life. A painful operation has been performed—the separation of guilt from justice. A man who has killed must be sentenced, but his guilt has nothing to do with the social administration of justice. Some other person is being tried on some other charge. The true guilt lies among mankind, in a false principle of existence and in an evil anatomy of living: this is where the guilt is to be found. Society will always find a man guilty because he is always a stranger. God and "I," the two unknowns to whom man has no access, will probably reveal themselves in the last flash of the knife—at dawn on the day of execution.

A dozen or so years later Camus brought his diagnosis to a close. He wrote *The Fall*. In this book nobody kills anybody; a girl throws herself off a bridge into the river; a passer-by hears the splash and hurries on. No one will be sentenced here—even though a crime has been committed. But in this short scene we have again seen the flash of the knife. Real guilt lies beyond the reach of the law, each of us is an unexposed murderer, a thin, frail wall stands between the life of modern man and crime.

These two books together number no more than two hundred pages of typescript. Yet a lot has been said in them. You will find some of your own thoughts and feelings too, grown out of the past twenty years, some of the memories of which are by now tarnished. We have a truly human talent for forgetting; one breath is sufficient to dissipate the remembrance of our failures. But a writer's time has this peculiar property that everything in it happens concurrently, and that from everything that happened in the past he creates a continuous present. This is perhaps his strength and his cross; in it lies his morality.

Translated by Edward Rothert

its uncertain character and turn his back on it in the name of defending science, will be defeated by the opponent who takes the subject up, often mystifying it completely. There is actually no recipe for "scientific manner as such" in treating various problems under study. One must follow only one rule: separate problems should be expressed in as scientific a manner as possible within the existing degree of science in this respect. Therefore a philosopher who is concerned with the problem of the meaning of life should limit himself to proposing choices of solutions, realizing that the subject does not permit an unequivocal and authoritative single solution. It is not a scientific philosophy but it does not follow—as it seemed to neo-positivists—that it is a non-scientific philosophy. Such counterposition is senseless because we find ourselves in a field of philosophy which is subject to other qualifications. It would be equally faulty from a logical point of view if we were to deduce from the negative answer to the question whether love is square that love is nonsquare. . . .

We have said above that a philosopher deliberating on problems of the order of the meaning of life acts like an ancient sage. A sage is not the same as a scientist. Wisdom and science go hand in hand usually, but are not equivalent. A scientist is a man who has gained knowledge in some field, an erudite. A sage is no more than an intelligent and experienced man, especially as far as problems of human behavior are concerned. It is not difficult to notice—practice shows it—that one may be an erudite scientist in a specialized field without being wise either in the sense of general intelligence or in the sense of life experience and skill of behavior in relations with other people; on the contrary, it is possible to be a wise man, a sage—especially a folk sage—without erudition, that is without education in any special field. In the questions interesting us here a philosopher acts like a sage and not like a scientist—erudite, his philosophy is subject to the evaluation "wise—unwise," "useful for people—unuseful" and not to "scientific—non-scientific." And there is no discredit here: it is a different sphere of study. Under certain circumstances a wise man is most necessary to people. A philosopher should therefore not only be an educated man but a wise one. The fact of science in this case is not completely eliminated, either. Science or knowledge of a certain type also helps in deliberations on human life and problems of be-

havior. The solution of problems such as "what is the meaning of life?" depends on many factors, but above all on the views on the world of the individual who deliberates on it. And here we have a connection with views which may be qualified as scientific or non-scientific. But it is impossible—let us repeat once more—to qualify directly as a "scientific view" or "non-scientific view" either the positive thesis that life has a meaning and thereby is worth living, or the negation of this thesis.

But let us return to the proper question: what answer can be given to a query about the meaning of life in the aspect elucidated above and how can it be motivated?

This depends, obviously, on the context of the philosophical system on whose ground one wants to solve this problem. We have just said that the view on this problem depends on many factors, but above all on the personal philosophy, *Weltanschauung*, of the person deliberating on it.

When one is a believer, the matter is simply solved: life always has a meaning (that means it is worth living under all conditions) because even suffering, pain and death are in keeping with the intentions of a higher being which is preparing a reward in life after death, or in this fashion metes out punishment in this life for misdemeanors. It must be said that in many cases as in this one it is comfortable to be a believer; even the most difficult things become extremely simple. But the cost of this comfort is enormous—the sacrifice of a scientific attitude. For that reason it is becoming ever harder to afford the luxury of the "comfort" and simplicity of solutions.

The Lay Attitude

When maintaining the lay attitude, whatever the *Weltanschauung* may be, one cannot answer the question about the meaning of life in a general and generally binding fashion: the evaluation whether it is worth living at all depends each time on the concrete circumstances and prospects; here the last word belongs always to the individual whose life it is. The evaluation must contain all the various known and felt factors which cannot be summed up by anybody but this individual. At the same time, it is possible to help this individual in adding up and balancing the positive and negative aspects, recalling and reminding him of

everything which in life is positive and which this individual may have forgotten under the influence of particularly strong emotion: that one lives only once, that time calms suffering, that one has one's duties to society and family, etc. But this is all, it can go no further. It is not possible, if one does not accept the essentially religious (whether one believes in a supreme being or not) absolute moral principles, to shape the answers at which this individual must arrive, in other words to make his choice for him, because no one but he can make this choice. One can only say: in your place I would do thus and thus. That is all.

What Is the Aim of Life?

But whoever asks for the meaning of life asks, in the second place—for the aim of life, for what does he live. This is a question connected with the first one (the answer to the question is life worth living is closely connected with the manner of answering the question about the aim of life) but still different. It is perhaps a more important and more interesting interpretation of the question about the meaning of life.

This question is asked by anyone troubled by the problem of *how* to live. Our behavior, after all, especially under difficult or conflicting circumstances depends on the aims we see in life, how we establish the hierarchy of values for whatever we may achieve through action or by renouncing action. Obviously this concerns above all men who consciously think about those matters. But also in questions of whether personal example is an influence in education—in the broadest meaning of the word—the problem of the meaning of life and the effects of this or that solution come to the surface, though indirectly. Because those solutions can be found not only in treatises and learned deliberations but also in the practical behavior of a hero who sacrifices his life for an ideal; of a traitor who collaborates with the enemy for money; of a fighter for truth who sacrifices his personal interests for its sake; an opportunist who despite his personal beliefs gratifies the supervisors; etc., etc.

So that when somebody asks us for the meaning of life in the sense that he demands to know what chief aim he must set for himself in life, subordinating all other actions and choices to this principle—then he asks us for *our own* opinion on the subject and for the reasons supporting it. This is a different situation than in the first case, when we were asked to make a decision for somebody in a

matter in which *only he* could decide. In the present case I cannot only answer this question, since it concerns my attitude, but I can and should defend the reasons for it, make my own particular propaganda.

Here again we must first distinguish between the religious and the lay points of view, because they are not only different but find themselves in two quite distinct fields of thought.

If one accepts the position of faith, the matter also in this case appears very simple and "comfortable": man is excused from thinking, since he is bound by heteronomous norms, stemming from outside, coming from God, norms which he is obliged to follow. Those norms set up an aim for a good life and thus teach him the meaning of life in the sense interesting us here. And that is all. There is no problem, there is only the need for exegesis—in order to understand better the intentions—of God's norms given us through revelation. Obviously, one may quote arguments for the thesis that these norms are of human authorship: that not God created man, but man created gods in his image. But if somebody has a mind closed to rational statements, or is stubborn enough to reject them for emotional reasons—then no arguments will help: man believing revelations knows in advance that they are false. Nevertheless the manner of behavior is unique: to point out constantly the contradictions between the standpoints of religion and science and emphasize the need of choosing between them. As culture and education of the masses increase, such action is effective. In my belief it is the only effective means of struggle against religious prejudice on a mass scale. As long as somebody clutches stubbornly at the religious solution of the problem, one can only tell him that it is unacceptable for people who refuse to abandon a scientific attitude and that it lies beyond intellectual deliberation.

Socialist Humanism

Passing now to the lay attempts at answering the question about the meaning of life, we find that since it is a matter of ancient problems, typical of philosophy—all possible attitudes have long been carefully listed. Therefore as far as the general characteristic of attitudes and manners of behavior is concerned, it is difficult to offer anything new—apart from names. One is inclined then to agree with Ben Akiba that there is nothing new under the sun. But this is wrong. If we do not restrict ourselves to an abstract, general characteristic but delve

deeper into the social conditions of implementation of a definite aim of action, the situation changes radically. For that reason, while as a Marxist I accept Socialist humanism as the chief principle of behavior arising from the aim I have pointed out to myself—I find my place in the bracket "social eudaemonism" (in a certain peculiar interpretation of this term) but at the same time I perceive peculiarity which separates *my own* attitude from other examples in the same class of attitudes. I also find a connection between my view in this field and my general *Weltanschauung*, with Marxism in the broadest meaning of the word.

I have already emphasized above the connection between the question "what is the meaning of life?" and the philosophical outlook on the world which the author of an answer holds. This is however not a direct relation in which, for instance, a materialist would take an altruistic position, the idealist an egoistic one, or the other way around. Each of these attitudes, including social eudaemonism, can be held whether one is a follower of materialism or idealism, dynamic or static understanding of the world, etc. As a proof one could quote hundreds of examples from the long history of the problem. In this case there will only be general and abstract characteristics of attitudes, which concern rather ideal types and for that reason may be differently interpreted in their various concrete forms. Pure altruism is in real life as impossible as pure egoism.

As we have said before, proclaiming with conviction the principle of social eudaemonism, that is the belief that the aim of human life is the greatest possible happiness of large masses and that only in this way may one implement the desire for personal happiness (I believe that the view that social eudaemonism is equal in this or that aspect to utilitarianism is faulty and historically unfounded), is possible for the followers of various ontological and epistemological theories. But a non-Marxist cannot proclaim Socialist humanism. In this case, although also this attitude can be fitted to "social eudaemonism" (obviously with a particular interpretation of this term, because the term is so vague and indefinite as to be open to varying and often distant interpretations), it is no longer the question of a general formulation under which the followers of various theories may sign their names, but of a concrete conception, so closely connected with other theses of the system that acceptance of it implies the acceptance of the entire system and thereby only people supporting this system may sign their names to it.

The theses of Socialist humanism and its directives of behavior stem from definite theoretical views. It is, in the first place, a question of a specific interpretation of the human individual as a social creature (as an "ensemble of social relations"—I shall yet come to that), which permits the elucidation of the matter of human attitudes and their formation; in the second place—of the specific interpretation of the relations of the individual and society based on the conception of social development represented by historical materialism; in the third place—of the belief connected with historical materialism, namely that ideals may be fulfilled only under appropriate social conditions, otherwise they degenerate into Utopias.

As a consequence, we get not a generalizing view and idealistic wishful thinking but a group of scientifically well-founded theoretical views from which arise definite practical conclusions in the form of directives for action.

The Happiness of Society

A follower of Socialist humanism is assured that happiness can be achieved only through the happiness of society, because only increasing the sphere of development of personality and the possibility of fulfilling various aims of people on the social scale creates lasting bases for the achievement of personal aims. He is not limited, however, to a general expression of good will or love of neighbor, although those principles are the closest to him whose breaking causes suffering. A follower of Socialist humanism understands that the implementation of his demands requires struggle, that the cause which he serves is socially conditioned and demands a definite change in social relations. In antagonistic societies he sees above all a connection between the implementation of his demands and a change of relations of ownership and the class relations based on them. In the name of the love of neighbor and common good will he proclaims the class struggle, he proclaims—although it seems like a contradiction—hate for the oppressors of man in the name of love of man. A follower of Socialist humanism knows that man is a creature of social conditions, but he also knows that social conditions are the creations of man. He is a dialectician and because of that proclaiming peace—he fights. His ideal of Socialism is most closely connected with his idea of humanism, hence the term "Socialist humanism." Socialism as an ideal is the consistent expression of his

humanism, but it is at the same time the materialized realization of his humanist ideals. In the name of those ideals the follower of Socialist humanism is ready for the greatest sacrifices—therefore he can call for sacrifices and demand them from others. He solidarizes with the general call for the love of neighbor but treats with contempt those who proclaim it in words but betray it in deeds. So-

cialist humanism calls not only for definite views but also for the implementation of them in practice. At the same time, or perhaps above all, it calls for struggle to persuade all others of the justice of Socialist humanism, for struggle to change their attitude.

Is this social eudaemonism? In a certain sense, yes. But such a definition actually says little. Here it is a question

of a unified system of beliefs which in its form is possibly only on the Marxist soil from which it arises as a consequence and whose foundation it is in turn. It is whether one is a Marxist or not that is of paramount importance in the solution of as important a problem as the meaning of life. Only a Marxist can become the speaker for the highest form of humanism: for Socialist humanism.

THROUGH YUGOSLAV EYES (Continued from page 39)

num, but also from the fact that the Chinese government has taken a number of urgent measures to procure food-stuffs in various parts of the world.

"China's agriculture, it is now pointed out, has scored great successes in recent years. It is stated that during the last three years alone, the area under effective irrigation increased by more than 300 million *mou*, irrigation equipment increased eightfold, and the number of tractors by about 200 percent.

"Despite these successes, agricultural production last year fell palpably short. In addition to unfavorable weather, which is assumed to be the chief cause of the drop in the harvest, other causes too were cited at the recent Party plenum. The communique refers to mistakes by local organizations and individual functionaries, to the problem of remuneration, the need for more concern for people's living conditions, alleged sabotage by hostile elements, and so forth.

"All these problems, the comments of observers point out, have resulted in major dislocations in China's economy, and in the decision of the Chinese Communist Party to take definite corrective measures. In connection with the economic—and general internal—problems of China, it has also been observed that the communique issued by the plenum again speaks, after quite a long interval, of the existence of a number of big landowners and bourgeois elements who avail themselves of the difficulties caused by the natural disasters as well as the shortcomings in the work of some basic organizations, and engage in sabotage.

"It was likewise pointed out that a small percentage of Party functionaries and authorities, who allegedly wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks and various eco-

nomic institutions without having been sufficiently 're-educated,' as well as a certain number of degenerate elements corrupted by the influence of the reactionary classes, violate the laws, infringe discipline, and jeopardize the interests of the people in town and countryside.

"It is because of this, the communique claims, that many local Party organizations started a campaign, in accordance with the directives of the Central Committee, for an improvement of the style of work of rural and urban functionaries. This campaign, launched just before the plenum meeting of the CCP Central Committee, will be carried out all over the country, according to the plenum's decisions. The main purpose is to purge the organizations of "obnoxious elements" which have infiltrated Party and State organs, and prevent sabotage.

"The plenum's decision on the formation of six central bureaus also aroused great interest in Peiping; the establishment of these bureaus was thought here to represent a step which would facilitate a larger measure of control by the central Party organs over the work of the provincial committees, as well as the committees of autonomous regions and cities.

"In the many appraisals and opinions which can be heard these days in Peiping about the nature of the present economic difficulties in China and their causes, the view prevails that the objective conditions [weather] were the decisive factor. However, there is also the view that, for whatever part was played by subjective factors, responsibility should not only be fixed on local functionaries and specific individuals, but should be envisaged against the background of the entire economic policy, whose direct and practical executors these functionaries have been." (*Borba* [Belgrade], January 29, 1961.)

The Study Center for Yugoslav Affairs in London has begun publication of a Review dealing with current Yugoslav affairs. The editors address themselves to "a rather small number of people in Britain, the United States and elsewhere amongst whom are the few who must in the course of their official duties concern themselves with the affairs of Yugoslavia." They also hope to "find readers among a somewhat larger, as yet not determinable,

number who will wish for its own sake to follow the development of present day life in our country." In the course of their endeavor they will "think earnestly about the news; try to comment dispassionately on issues as they arise and hope to become a trustworthy factor in the interpretation of our problems to people in the West." The editorial offices of the Review are at 62 Offley Road, London, S. W. 3.

Current Developments

- INTERNATIONAL:** *Albania arrests two Soviet "spies" (p. 6).*
Satellites join with USSR in blaming UN Secretary General and Western "colonialists" for the death of Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba (p. 46).
- POLITICAL:** *Polish Cardinal Wyszynski accuses Party chief Gomulka of curbing Church's freedom (p. 1); the Primate also moves to assert control over priests who collaborate too closely with the regime (p. 48).*
Romanian government reorganized with Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej becoming chief of State while retaining Party leadership (p. 1).
- ECONOMIC:** *Poland reports success in industry and agriculture during 1960 (p. 48).*
Hungary claims 90 percent of arable land now in the "Socialist sector" of the economy (p. 50).
Hungarian State Budget for 1961 points to sharp cutbacks in investment, especially in agriculture (p. 52).
Romania announces a record rate of growth for industrial production last year (p. 55).

AREAWIDE

Lumumba's Death Assailed

The death of deposed Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba, announced February 13, provided the Soviet bloc with an opportunity to castigate Dag Hammarskjold, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, "colonialists," NATO and the Belgians for their role in the "bestial murder." Radio Sofia, February 16, declared: "The Belgian colonizers decided to carry out this adventure in the Congo, thanks only to the support they were shown by all colonial powers, and particularly by aggressive NATO."

"With the aid of UN Secretary General . . . Hammarskjold," said Radio Budapest, February 17, "the colonialists first of all stirred up disorder in order to prevent any subsequent attempt to restore legal order and ended by assassinating Patrice Lumumba and his comrades, these great heroes of the liberation struggle of the Congolese people and of other African peoples."

The Czechoslovak Party organ, *Rude Pravo* (Prague), February 16, described the murder as "an exceptional criminal case." But by resorting to the "physical liquidation" of the Congolese leader, "the colonialists really showed their weakness, their inability to bolster their situation with anything other than crimes, and this brings closer their final defeat, the definite crumbling of the remnants of the colonial system." The USSR provided the final touch by

renaming their university in Moscow set up for the instruction of foreigners as "Patrice Lumumba Friendship University."

With the death of Lumumba, Antoine Gizenga, political leader of Orientale province in the Congo, was recognized by the Soviet bloc as the Acting Premier of the Congo.

Yugoslavs Clash with Albanians

The Albanian-Yugoslav cold war grew hotter in the wake of spy trials, diplomatic expulsions and mutual diatribes. Belgrade reacted quickly and unfavorably to the accusation by Albanian Party chief Enver Hoxha at the Albanian Party Congress (see page 3) that Yugoslavia, in conjunction with Greece, NATO, the US Third Fleet and Albanian "traitors," was plotting to overthrow his country. Such statements were termed "slanders" and "lies" by the Yugoslav government, and the Albanian leaders were labeled "professional saboteurs, deliberately intent on poisoning and straining relations with Yugoslavia further and on sabotaging every relaxation and constructive international cooperation throughout this part of Europe." (Radio Belgrade, February 15.)

Relations between the two countries were further exacerbated when a Yugoslav diplomat in Tirana was allegedly beaten by Albanian security agents and ordered to leave the country within 24 hours. (Radio Belgrade, February 23.) In response to this, Belgrade cut its diplomatic staff in Tirana to an absolute minimum. An Albanian member

of the legation in Belgrade was also expelled from Yugoslav territory.

Replying to the Yugoslav allegations, Radio Tirana, February 23, declared that the Yugoslav diplomat had provoked a fight on the streets, and this occasioned his expulsion.

Spies Apprehended

After a two-day trial, the regional criminal court in Prizren sentenced two alleged Albanian spies to between 5 and 6 years imprisonment for their "hostile activities against Yugoslavia." (Radio Belgrade, March 3.) Earlier, another Albanian spy was given 7 years and six months of "rigorous imprisonment" for espionage activities among the Albanian minority living within Yugoslavia. (Radio Belgrade February 23.) Belgrade systematically rejected Albanian diplomatic notes protesting the spy trials.

Yugoslavia also ordered a Bulgarian diplomat to leave the country in retaliation for Bulgaria's expulsion of a Yugoslav Second Secretary in the legation in Sofia, charged with spying. The Yugoslav "countermeasure" was vigorously protested as evidence of deteriorating relations between the two countries. The Yugoslav government, in turn, rejected Bulgarian spying charges as "entirely untrue." (Radio Sofia, March 10.)

Detente Continues

With the other countries of the Soviet bloc, Belgrade's relations were relatively tranquil. Trade negotiations were completed in Budapest, March 1, for a barter agreement for 1961, and the third meeting of the mixed Czechoslovak-Yugoslav commission for scientific and technical cooperation approved the program for 1961 on February 17. The only jarring note was an article in the Belgrade daily *Politika*, March 4, accusing the Czechoslovak press of "gross distortions" in its reporting on Yugoslavia. In sum, it accused the Czechoslovak newspapers of asserting: "Everything in Socialist Yugoslavia has been bad, is bad, and will always be bad."

Worst of all, from Belgrade's point of view, the Czechoslovaks have frequently accused the Yugoslav Communists of "Trotskyism." *Politika* concluded with the question: "Do all these Czechoslovak attacks on Yugoslavia mean that the Czechoslovak State and Party leadership as well as its press corps think that relations between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are not as aggravated as the Albanians and Chinese demand they should be?"

Belgrade's sensitivity toward Czechoslovak criticism was evident when the Yugoslav Ambassador to Prague protested against an attack on Yugoslavia by Rudolf Barak, Czechoslovak representative to the Albanian Party Congress, an attack which went unmentioned in the Czechoslovak press reports on the events in Tirana. (Radio Belgrade, March 6.)

Comecon Meets in East Germany

East Berlin was host February 28-March 3 to the 14th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, attended by high-ranking officials and economists from the



"Coexistence or no coexistence—that is the question."

Zivot (Bratislava), February 2, 1961

eight European member countries and observers from the four Communist countries in Asia. The organization, whose job it is to coordinate the long-range economic plans and oversee a division of labor in the Soviet bloc, now holds high-level discussions regularly twice a year in the various capitals of the member nations.

While the principal East German representative seized upon the occasion to belittle West German threats of a trade boycott, the talks were chiefly concentrated on framing the long-range prospectus for economic development in the period up to 1980 and the problems of long-term trade agreements extending to 1965. The session heard reports from the permanent commissions on the chemical industry, foreign trade, transportation and machine-building. It considered new possibilities for specialization and began preparation for the fixing of norms in common, for product selection and for standardization of industrial goods. East German Party leader Walter Ulbricht described the prospectus for 1980 as a great achievement in long-range planning. He added, "During this period, the Socialist camp will overtake the most highly developed capitalist countries in regard to the level of labor produc-

tivity in all decisive branches of the economy and will create the technical-material foundation for a superabundance of products in the Socialist countries." (Radio East Berlin, March 2.)

POLAND

Cardinal Scores Collaboration

In a letter last January addressed to Polish priests, Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński warned the clergy not to be divided into "patriots and non-patriots, into progressives and non-progressives." In the fragmentary text leaked to the Western press, the Polish Primate condemned the anti-Church offensive aimed at undermining the authority of the priests and defended the principle of religious training. In order to implement his admonitions, the Cardinal has taken advantage of the suspension in April 1960 of Canon Laws governing the appointment of parish priests in order to assert firmer control over clergymen tempted to collaborate too closely with the regime. The suspension granted by the Vatican allows him to appoint priests as "administrators" rather than permanent pastors who cannot be removed from their posts without formal proceedings. (*The New York Times*, March 5.)

Polish-American Relations

The double edge of American-Polish relations appeared in two news items in the Polish Party organ *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), February 28. A five-member group of Polish journalists arrived in Washington to study the American press, radio and television as well as give a series of lectures on Polish foreign policy and science. Simultaneously, the press announced the arrest of 5 American "spies," captured by security officers in the town of Zielona Gora in the Western Territories.

1960 Plan Fulfillment

During a year of financial austerity, the Polish economy was reported to have made balanced progress. Industrial production increased by 10.9 percent as compared with 1959, and agriculture pulled out of its 1959 slump with a 5.4 percent rise in output. Industry overfulfilled its target by 3.8 percent, the output of capital goods growing by 11.5 percent and that of consumer goods by about 10.3 percent. Most of the credit for these successes in the industrial sector was given to increased labor productivity and improvement in the organization of work, while total employment was held to the 1959 level. According to the Statistical Office's report, technical norms were introduced into 55 heavy industrial enterprises, and overtime work was kept to a minimum. The most serious shortcomings were said to be in the assortment of goods and the failure of a number of enterprises to cooperate in keeping the flow of critical supplies moving smoothly.

In agriculture, the plan was overfulfilled by 1.8 percent, but animal production failed to stay abreast of the advance in plant output; while the latter surpassed the 1959 level by 8.8 percent, animal output increased by only 0.7 percent.

The volume of investment in the national economy clearly reflected the government's tight grip on the purse strings. The total outlay of funds, which amounted to about 90 billion *zloty*, increased by only 6.5 percent. The wage fund in the "Socialist economy" rose by 2.9 percent, and average money wages increased by 2.4 percent. National income was said to have increased, according to preliminary data, by about 3 percent (in 1958 prices).

One of the most encouraging signs in the performance of the economy during 1960 was the improvement in the foreign trade balance. The value of exports increased by 15.8 percent, overfulfilling the target by 6.3 percent, while imports rose only 5.3 percent, or 2.2 percent more than planned. The most significant expansion of exports—21 percent—occurred in trade with the other Socialist countries (exports to the Soviet Union rose about 25 percent). Although the 1960 result narrowed the huge gap in the balance of payments, it did not overcome the deficits inherited from earlier years, especially in trading relations with the West.



The Soviet space ship to Venus.

Polityka (Warsaw), February 18, 1961

Output Figures

The Statistical Office gave the following production figures (percentage increases over 1959 are in parentheses): electric power, 29.3 billion kwh (11); bituminous coal, 104,437,600 tons (5.4); brown coal, 9,327,200 tons (0.7); crude oil, 194,400 tons (11.1); natural gas, 549.3 million cubic meters (29.5); coke, 11,961,200 tons (3.4); pig iron, 4,562,600 tons (4.3); crude steel, 6,681,200 tons (8.5); rolled goods, 4,432,000 tons (9.1); steel pipe, 365,600 tons (9.9); aluminum, 26,000 tons (13.9); zinc, 175,500 tons (4.4); milling machines, 21,900 pieces (5.3); tractors, double-axle, 7,675 (152.2); passenger cars, 12,856 (minus 9.5); trucks, 19,518 (28.2); electric locomotives, 38 (26.7); diesel locomotives, 144 (50); electric railway cars, passenger, 23 units (109.1); railway cars, passenger, 660 (9.3); railway cars, freight, 13,891 (3.1); ships, over 100 DWT, 254,300 DWT (36); motorcycles, scooters, motorbikes, 150,400 (27.7); bicycles, 496,100 (25.5); refrigerators, 37,700 (30.2); radios, 627,100 (minus 16.3); television sets, 171,300 (46.1); sulfuric acid, 684,800 tons (12.2); calcined soda, 528,500 tons (15.8); nitrogenous fertilizers, 270,200 tons (5.7); phosphoric fertilizers, 207,000 tons (19.1); cement, 6,591,700 tons (24.1); bricks, 3.4 billion ceramic units (0.5); cellulose, 291,400 tons (12.3); paper, 503,700 tons (10.3); cotton cloth, 665,600,000 meters (4.4); woolen cloth, 78,700,000 meters (minus 2); silk, 110,300,000 meters (5.4); linen, oakum, 81,100,000 meters (minus 0.2); leather footwear, 38,800,000 pair (3.4); sugar, white, 1,380,000 tons (54.1); meat for industrial slaughter, 979,300 tons (0.7); canned meat, 47,700 tons (18.1); fish, 148,300 tons (14.2); vegetable fats, 102,100 tons (28); butter, 94,600 tons (1.4); beer, 6,729,500 hectoliters (2.1); vodka and pure alcohol, 73,700,000 liters (minus 0.8); wine, 141,000,000 liters (minus 2.5); cigarettes, 44.1 billion (minus 7.8). (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], February 9.)

East German Ambassador Recalled

Josef Hagen, East German envoy to Poland, has been recalled to Pankow, according to Radio Warsaw, February 20. Western sources reported that Hagen's departure was demanded by Polish Party chief Gomulka, and came in the wake of worsening relations between the two countries. Apparently, Polish journalists had been harassed by East German officialdom while traveling through East Germany, and Hagen's attitude did not contribute to any improvement in relations between Pankow and Warsaw.

Pre-election Campaign

The weeks preceding the national election, April 16, have been characterized by what Politburo member Roman Zambrowski called "the good atmosphere" which derived from the "positive changes in the international situation, in the internal position of the Socialist camp . . . and in the rapid growth of our economy." (Radio Warsaw, February 24.)

The Polish Party, in presenting a single slate of parliamentary candidates, permitted a list in excess of the number of deputies to be chosen, thus allowing the voters some measure of preference. This procedure was followed in the last election, held in January 1957, only a few months after Party chief Gomulka's dramatic return to power.

The eligible voters this year, on the basis of the 1960 census, will number 18,660,000.

ALONE AND AFRAID

The new Socialist man may need psychiatrists just as badly as the old bourgeois man, according to Dr. Ernest Guensberger of Bratislava. The head of the city psychiatric clinic recently addressed the local writers' club on the topic of mental hygiene. Following are excerpts from his lecture as published in Kulturny Zivot (Bratislava), February 5, 1961.

"Lately we often hear 'mental hygiene' mentioned in this country, although until recently it was an almost unknown expression. . . . In this country some 15 percent of all hospital beds are reserved for psychiatric cases. . . . Of course, statistics on mental illness differ very widely as there is no general agreement on what is to be considered a normal reaction to the difficulties of life and what an abnormal one.

"Neurosis has the widest social impact. This is due to the fact that neuroses are caused chiefly by an inadequacy in human relations, i.e., are mainly of a social nature. It could be said, and in fact it is often maintained, that the elimination of social classes should result in a disappearance of neuroses as well. In principle this may apply to the majority of cases, but it must not be forgotten that the era of transition from capitalism to Socialism is marked by a temporary presence of many of the factors causing neurosis, one of them being the fact that not everyone is able to find his way easily to the new society. This has been confirmed statistically: until 1957 the number of neuroses was rising, and there were also more cases of illness of the central nervous system as well as cardiovascular illnesses. Thus, for instance, psychiatric factors are to a great extent responsible for heart failure. In general it is interesting to observe that many other physical illnesses have their roots in the psychiatric and neurotic sphere. They are, in fact, substantially more frequent than mental disease proper. Psychiatric factors exist not only in the case of stomach ulcers or bronchial asthma, but also in some accidental diseases—for instance, fractures. . . .

"The conclusion may be drawn from these deliberations that mental hygiene is fully justified in our country as well. This means that in the foreseeable future no small demands will be placed on all the responsible workers in this field. . . ."

DRINK TEA, YOU FOOL

"It all started with a bottle of Hungarian 'Egri Burgundy' wine, for 46 zloty plus one zloty for the bottle. When I opened the bottle I found that the wine had fermented, and decided to make a complaint. The manager of the shop referred me to the State Trade Inspectorate on Chocimska Street to have the wine tested, and then proceeded to tell me of the agonies I would have to suffer before my money would be refunded.

"It appeared that a vast correspondence would be necessary: with Budapest, with the Polish bottling firm, with several ministries and with several ministers. The process would take many weeks. . . . Anyway, he advised me against it and I decided not to file a complaint. . . .

"All these matters give good reason for complaint. What is more, people should and must complain. . . . Sure, but how? Sign your name in the complaint book? Write letters to the newspapers? File suits for damages? Legal action would probably be the most effective, but who has the nerves to undergo it? Not to mention the fact that if this were done on a broad scale it would completely paralyze life in Poland. Every citizen would have to spend many months as a defendant, a witness, an expert, a judge, etc."

Przegląd Kulturalny (Warsaw), February 9, 1961

HUNGARY

Collectivization: Success at a Price

The Hungarian government has, for all practical purposes, achieved the goal it set for itself at the beginning of 1959 when the first of three successive campaigns aimed at pressing the peasantry into collective farms was launched. On February 17, the Party Central Committee convened to appraise two years of work. In its report, it declared that less than 10 percent of the country's farmland remained in private hands—as compared with 72.2 percent in 1958—and most of that in the hilly and mountainous regions. Since last November, 340,000 peasants and 15 percent of the country's farmland have been added to the "Socialist sector." This brings the total to 1.2 million peasants and about 9 million cadastral holds (one hold equals 1.42 acres). Collectives now cover 72 percent of the arable land and State farms 14 percent, with another 3 percent under some form of cooperative cultivation.

Most of the report was devoted to applauding the Party's work. While agricultural production was admitted to have encountered some difficulties, growing by 11 percent during the past three years as compared with the average level in the 1955-57 period, the blame for any deficiencies was

put upon poor weather conditions. The number of tractors was said to have increased by 50 percent and the number of threshers by 66 percent as compared with 1957; and the amount of artificial fertilizer supplied was twice as much as in the 1955-57 period. In fact, investments of all kinds were pumped into the countryside at an unprecedented rate during the campaign.

Time To Consolidate

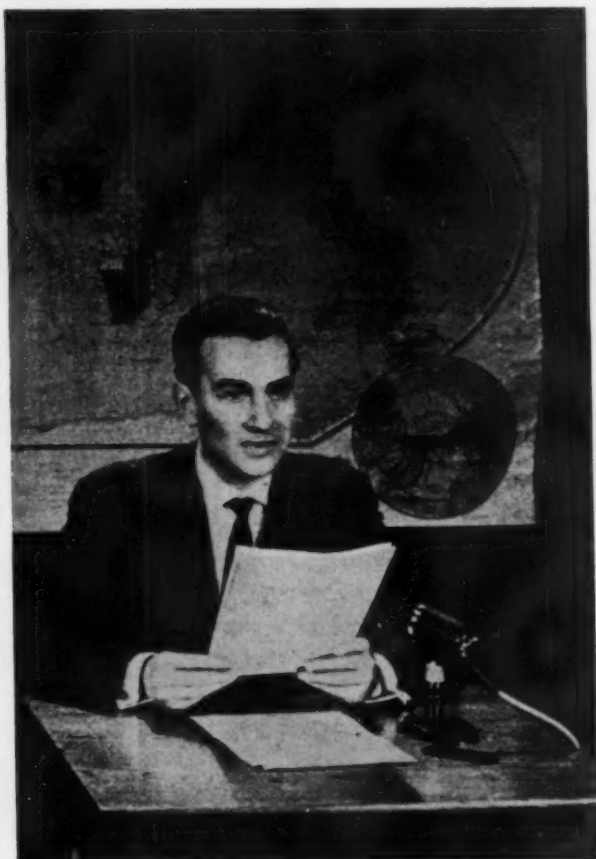
The problem now is to consolidate the gains, the resolution said, but there is ample evidence in the official press to suggest that the task of making the collective farms function as productive economic units will not be an easy one. The resolution said simply that "hitches and temporary difficulties in certain fields of production and supply are an inevitable side-effect of the deep-reaching Socialist transformation." It added: "we must strive to strengthen the collectives both in terms of organization and politically, to get a successful intensive farming sector into shape and to build the large-scale industrial structure necessary to support this Socialist transformation in agriculture." (*Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], February 19.)

As before, when earlier phases of the campaign were called to a temporary halt to enable the regime to strengthen its position, the Party is busy "educating the peasantry in the collective farms" and attempting to improve work incentives. According to Radio Budapest, February 21, 1,300 specialists will be sent into the rural areas during 1961 to aid the collectives with problems of organization and production. On March 2, the radio broadcast a government decree permitting the sale of agricultural machinery from the Machine Tractor Stations to the collectives if the farms can guarantee its proper use and maintenance. A national conference of agronomists and provincial agrarian leaders was held in Budapest to discuss problems of consolidating the collectives, and it was followed by a series of conferences on the local level in which specialists and collective farm leaders discussed the same problems. "Nearly 100,000 people will participate in these debates," said Radio Budapest on February 17.

Shortages and Blackmarketeering

However, despite all these efforts, the press continues to report shortages in the supply of a number of foods, particularly animal products—with the explanation that they are the result of "a rapid growth of consumption." The Deputy Minister of Agriculture urged that "all means must be used by the collective farms as well as private plots to increase livestock breeding. Cultivation of corn and other fodder plants must be stepped up in order to increase milk, meat and egg production. Foddering methods must be improved and waste eliminated." (*Nepszabadsag*, February 18.)

At the same time, an increasing number of illegal slaughtering and blackmarketing cases are being reported in the provincial press. Local authorities are investigating the peasants' attics for hoarded grain. The press is also reporting, for the first time since 1956, the prosecution of



A Polish television news commentator.

Swiat (Warsaw), March 5, 1961

grain hoarders, a common case on the courts' dockets in Stalin's time.

Novotny in Hungary

A State visit to Hungary was led by Czechoslovak President and Party Leader Antonin Novotny, accompanied by Deputy Premier and Chairman of the Slovak National Council Rudolf Strechaj, Foreign Minister Vaclav David and other high Party officials. Beginning February 20, the four-day visit produced an agreement on economic and technical-scientific cooperation between the two governments. A mixed commission within the framework of Comecon (Soviet bloc economic organization) was charged with implementing the accord. A new cultural agreement was also concluded to insure "comprehensive development of the cooperation already implemented in the fields of education, science and the arts." (Radio Budapest, February 25.)

In his major speech of the trip, President Novotny praised the development of the Hungarian economy, stating: "You have far surpassed your Three Year Plan for

the people's economy covering 1958 to 1960. This is borne out by the increase in industrial production, which by the end of 1960—compared with 1957—had risen 40 percent, that is, 18 percent higher than planned. During the same period, the national income increased nearly 20 percent."

Referring to the recent Hungarian farm collectivization drive, the Czechoslovak Party chief announced: "Conditions of Socialist production have also become predominant in agriculture, with 92 percent of the arable land already under Socialist cultivation. . . . Agricultural output has risen, and between 1958 and 1960, it increased nearly 12 percent over the average 1955-1957 output."

Passing on to the international scene, Novotny wholeheartedly embraced the "policy of peaceful coexistence," while condemning "West German imperialism and militarism." (Radio Budapest, February 24.)

The Hungarian Party leader Janos Kadar traded compliment for compliment, lauding the advanced state of Czechoslovak industry, "already a serious competitor with more technically advanced countries such as the United States, Great Britain, and West Germany, as regards per capita production."

Youth Camps Applauded

At a press conference of the Communist Youth League (KISZ) Central Committee, the regime announced that during the Three Year Plan (1958-60), 35,000 "voluntary" workers from the Youth League, gathered in summer labor camps, put in 2,300,000 working hours, moved 700,000 cubic meters of soil, built a 27 kilometer canal, etc. During the next Five Year Plan (1961-65) the Youth League plans to mobilize 100,000 university and high school students for summer labor camps. The first year, 23 camps will be set up, where 27,000 youths will work in rotation for two weeks, 6 hours daily. At the end of the season, all who have attended the camps will receive a diploma and a badge from the KISZ Central Committee. (*Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], February 18.)

Defense Ministers Meet

At a winter sports competition of the Soviet bloc armies, known as the First Winter Spartakade, opened by Polish Premier Cyrankiewicz at Zakopane, February 5, all of the Defense Ministers of Warsaw Pact nations as well as observers from Communist China and Outer Mongolia were present. Following the festivities, Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Czinege left for a two-week trip through the Soviet Union at the invitation of his Soviet counterpart, Marshal Malinovski. (*Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], February 8.) According to Western reports, negotiations over the continued presence of Soviet troops in Hungary took place.

Atomic Scientists Meet

The second conference of the Hungarian National Atomic Commission met in Budapest, February 16-17. The subject was the use of radioactive isotopes in industry, agriculture,

hospitals and scientific research. According to Arpad Kiss, chairman of the commission, "in the past two years the capacity of Hungarian isotope laboratories has increased by 52 percent and the number of laboratory staffs by 42 percent. Four hundred persons are now working in this field. Furthermore, the development of the precision instrument industry made it possible to have 42 percent more equipment in the labs than two years ago." (*Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], February 17.)

1961 Budget

The State Budget for 1961, presented to the National Assembly by Finance Minister Rezso Nyers on February 23, underlines the financial stringency of the economic plan for the current year. While revenue and expenditure were planned to expand by about 28 percent in the 1960 balance sheet, this year's budget envisages an increase of only 12 percent. Even more indicative is the slated cutback by 7.3 percent in investment outlay in the national economy for 1961, as compared with a planned figure for 1960 which was more than 40 percent above the previous year. The few details given by the Finance Minister (*Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], February 25) compare with last year's planned figures as follows (in billion forint):

	1960 Planned	1961 Planned
Revenue	67.7	76.0
Expenditure	67.4	76.0
National economy	39.3	45.7
Investment	20.5	19.0
Social, health and cultural	19.4	20.7
National defense	3.1	3.4
Administration	3.3	3.7
Surplus	0.3	—

Investment Problems

Several factors underlie the austerity campaign. One of the most serious is what the Finance Minister called "excessive fragmentation of investment," i.e., starting more and more projects before those already underway are near completion. Many of these projects end up costing several times the original estimate. The Trade Union daily *Nepszava* (Budapest), February 18, cited the case of the Budapest sulfur factory, begun on the basis of an estimated cost of 57.5 million forint which subsequently grew to 172.7 million; in another case, the required investment outlay multiplied tenfold, and the paper said more would be needed before the project could be put into operation. In order to cope with the problem the regime has stipulated that less than one percent of total investment during 1961 will be allocated for beginning new projects while the remainder will be used to accelerate the progress of those already underway.

The laggard state of labor productivity, which has failed to increase as rapidly as industrial output, was underscored by Finance Minister Nyers when he called for greater labor discipline, better use of material incentives through the

THE HUNGER PILL

Radio Sofia recently told its Bulgarian listeners about an insidious new American drug called Metrecal:

"According to the advertisements, this product when dissolved in water, tea, rum or whiskey—according to the taste and means of the consumer—takes away the feeling of hunger. . . . The Western press informs us that millions of Americans use this miraculous powder for breakfast, lunch and dinner. As a result, the Johnson Company has already realized over 100 million dollars in pure profit.

"The company's successful business is very easily explained: as President Kennedy admitted in one of his campaign speeches, 17 million Americans go to bed hungry every night.

"Thus there is a wide market for charlatans who deal in the false satisfaction of hunger."

Radio Sofia, February 19, 1961

profit-sharing and premium system and "intensification of agitation, production pledges and work-competition." Also, the regime has overextended itself financially in agriculture during the past two years in the course of its drive to collectivize the peasantry. Investment in this sector doubled in 1959 and in 1960 increased by 27 percent; but during the current year it is to be slashed by 27.1 percent. Contributing to the need for thrift in the domestic economy are the financial commitments to other members of the Soviet bloc, whose loans propped up the sagging economy after the 1956 Revolt; 1.5 billion forint have been earmarked in this year's budget for the purpose of meeting these debts.

Along with tightened purse strings went an appeal for greater use of private resources. Although total private investment is slated to decline this year, a number of sectors of the economy are expected to make increasing contributions to their own investment needs, especially agriculture. In housing construction, for example, out of a total of 46,158 apartments scheduled to be built during 1961, the State is underwriting expenses for only 17,158.

The source and distribution of total investment slated for 1961 compare with last year as follows (in billion forint):

	1960 Planned	1961 Planned
Total investment	33.4	30.7
State	20.5	19.0
Private	12.9	11.7
Going to:		
Industry	14.1	15.0
Agriculture	7.0	5.1
Transportation	2.5	2.5
Building	2.7	2.5
Others	7.1	5.6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Critics Under Fire

Evidence that the regime is dissatisfied with the standards of criticism which has not been successful in indoctrinating writers and other artists in the spirit of "Socialist realism" was forthcoming when a national conference "on the tasks of Socialist criticism" was held in Prague, February 20-22. After an introductory address by the dogmatic First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union, Ivan Skala, the main speaker was the Academician Ladislav Stoll, chairman of the Committee of Socialist Culture. In the discussion that followed, Stoll stated that such a meeting was justified in order to unify the efforts of critics to "solve socially important tasks." Of prime importance was the necessity for "unity on the basis of truth which requires implacability toward incorrect opinions." (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], February 23.)

Earlier that month the literary weekly *Literarni Noviny* (Prague), February 4, in a leading editorial, blamed "a great part of the workers of our scientific institutions engaged in literature" for being "much more interested in the past than in the living process of the development of contemporary Socialist literature." Also noteworthy was a polemic signed by critic Milos Vacik, in *Rude Pravo* February 12, directed against the poet Jiri Sotola, who, in a recent issue of *Kultura* claimed that contemporary criticism meant nothing to the authors of today.

Central Committee Discusses Agriculture

The Party Central Committee, in a two-day session on February 9-10, undertook to air the problems of the most delinquent sector in the Czechoslovak economy. Not only was the agrarian sector said to be behind in the over-all development of the national economy, but the standard of living of the peasantry was not increasing as fast as that of the workers in the cities. "Although in daily per capita food consumption," said Minister of Agriculture Lubomir Strougal, "we occupy one of the first places in Europe, this is not because of our own agricultural production. The results achieved are unsatisfactory and do not correspond to our possibilities." Production during the last ten years, he said, grew only 20.8 percent—roughly 1.8 percent annually—and more than half of that was achieved in 1960. The 11 percent increase attained last year, however—after an intensive propaganda campaign and outside help from soldiers and factory workers—was highly unbalanced. This, Strougal complained, was characteristic throughout the Second Five Year Plan (1956-60): while animal production increased by 17 percent, plant output rose only 7 percent.

Both Strougal and the final resolution of the Central Committee took the rural economy to task for "a number of serious shortcomings." Despite a marked increase in material assistance and Party personnel in the countryside

—where 90.4 percent of the arable land is now in the "Socialist sector"—improvement in the management of many collective and State farms was said to be slight. The collectives were criticized for putting their interests above that of the State. Regional, district and local authorities received the blame for a great part of the trouble. They were warned to put an end to "red tape, submitting of false reports and irresponsible announcements of production pledges." The laggard state of mechanization was also lamented, especially in sugar beets where only four percent of the planted area was harvested by machinery. At the same time, said Strougal, "serious shortcomings in the supply of spare parts often render impossible the utilization of the machines and proper repairs."

Among the CC recommendations for agriculture, the most significant dealt with incentives. While the resolution said that a change from the current work unit system of income distribution to a guaranteed money wage (as in the State farms and in industry) and the abolition of private plots were under discussion, it cautioned: "It will be possible . . . to embark on this progressive method of remuneration only after the establishment of the necessary political and organizational conditions, and after sufficiently large funds have been ensured. . . ." Also, "farming without private plots presupposes the establish-



"Special attraction: a breathtaking performance by the British lion."

Ludas Matyi (Budapest), February 9, 1961

ment of political and economic guarantees for a constant increase of collective production and raising of the living standards of the collective farm members."

The CC's resolution implied that the key to the future progress of the countryside was political rather than economic:

"Politically conscious organizers, highly trained in the field of agriculture, are the decisive factor in the development of agricultural production. Only leaders with such qualities can imbue the work teams with a collective spirit, make use of their experience, suggestions, and proposals for the over-all development of the collective in overcoming individualistic trends and for strengthening mutual relations between members of agricultural collectives." (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], February 12.)

Youths Gather

The 40th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Communist Youth League occasioned several meetings attended by high Party officialdom throughout the country. On February 6, a national ideological conference, organized by the Central School of the Youth League, met in Prague; its main purpose was to strengthen the bonds between the Party and the League. In the major address, Party Central Committee Secretary Vratislav Krutina hailed the organization for preparing the younger generation for "the building of Communism and for life in it." (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], February 7.) In the resolution produced at the end of the conference, the inevitable letter to the Central Committee promised "unshakable loyalty to the Party, preparedness and determined will to work and fight wherever the Party needs it most." (*Mlada Fronta* [Prague], February 8.)

The most festive gathering to commemorate the anniversary took place in the capital, February 20, with five members of the Politburo in attendance. In Congress Hall

LET'S TELL THE TRUTH

The padding of reports by public functionaries has created a situation in which the Communist leaders cannot always be sure that they know what the truth is. The high brass of the Czechoslovak Party complained about this in the following item from *Zivot Strany* (Prague), No. 2, 1961, published by the Central Committee:

"Statistical reports should mirror the true state of affairs. Otherwise they cannot be the basis for responsible decisions by the organs concerned.

"This is apparently not realized, however, by some secretaries of local national committees [municipal governments—Ed.]. . . .

"Concealment of the real state of affairs, which some workers in various sectors of our public life are guilty of, is a gross infraction of State discipline. It is necessary to fight sharply against such occurrences."

at the Julius Fucik Park, Jiri Hendrych, a Secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, presented the Central Committee of the Youth League with a flag embroidered with the slogan: "To Learn! To Work and Live as Socialists." (*Rude Pravo*, February 21.)

ROMANIA

Romanian "Elections"

As was expected, on March 5, 99.77 percent of the voters elected the candidates sponsored by the Party-organized People's Democratic Front for the local, district and regional People's Councils and Grand National Assembly. A single slate was presented with no choice or preference permitted to the 12,417,800 voters, although outright rejection of the selected candidates was possible. (Radio Bucharest, March 7.)

The pre-election campaign was routine, featuring a manifesto of the People's Democratic Front which hailed the accomplishments of the regime since the last election in 1957. By now, according to the document, "the Socialist order has won permanent victory. There are no longer either capitalists, landowners or rich peasants. Exploitation of man by man has been eliminated forever." Viewing the future, the manifesto predicted an industrial pace which by 1965 will have doubled production as compared with 1959. The standard of living is also to rise, with real wages increasing 40-45 percent over the level attained during the second half of 1959. (Radio Bucharest, February 16.)

In an electoral speech, March 3, Party chief Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej spoke of the necessity for a new State constitution "which would mirror the deep transformations which have occurred in our country . . . in view of the steady improvement in our national economy." A great part of his address was devoted to foreign policy, and here he reiterated Romania's commitment to the program of "peaceful coexistence" and emphasized the "indestructible friendship and alliance with the USSR." The "decisive factor" for the preservation of world peace was "unity" of the "Socialist countries." He concluded by repeating the Romanian suggestion for turning the Balkans into a "zone of peace," free of atom weapons and missile-launching stations. (Radio Bucharest, March 3.)

Aid To Collective Farms

In an effort to spur livestock production on the country's collective farms, the Council of Ministers has decided to extend long-term loans to the farms to help finance the purchase of livestock and building of the necessary shelter. Eight-year interest-free loans amounting to 520 million lei will be available to the collective farms during 1960 to buy cows and calves from the peasants. While the purchases are to be made primarily from peasants joining the collectives,

the decree also authorized payment from the funds to the collective farms' own members if they keep more than the allotted number of cows and calves on the private plots. The decree also stipulates that the full value of the cattle must be paid to the peasants joining the collectives, but it did not state whether this provision would apply to purchases from the members' private plots as well.

Another 100 million lei will be available on the same terms to the collectives for purchasing timber and cement needed for constructing barns, and at the same time, prices on these materials are to be reduced. Other provisions of the decree promise support to the collectives in cultivating fodder crops and opening up State land for communal pastures and mountain grazing grounds. (Radio Bucharest, February 28.)

1960 Plan Fulfillment

The Central Statistical Office in its annual plan fulfillment report claimed a record growth rate for gross industrial production of 16.9 percent during 1960, overfulfilling the plan by 3.7 percent. A large part of the increase was said to have resulted from an 11 percent rise in labor productivity and a 2 percent reduction in production costs. However, while the advance in 1960 was a notable one, it fell short of many of the targets set forth in the Second Five Year Plan (1956-60).

The most progressive branches were the iron and steel industry and the machine-building and metal-processing in-



An inspection committee visiting a new housing development. "All right now, don't peek!"

Nepszabadsag (Budapest), February 8, 1961

dustry, where 32 and 22 percent increases in output were attained. Production in these two branches was said to have accounted for 40 percent of the total increase in industrial production. Other branches expanded output as compared with 1959 by the following percentages: chemicals 16; timber-processing 21; textiles 17; garments 42; leather, fur and footwear 18; food 13. The industrial expansion was supported by a volume of investment 27 percent greater than in 1959, reaching a total of 22.5 billion lei; and several important industrial projects, the report said, were commissioned during the year.

On the subject of agriculture, the Statistical Office was less explicit. As usual, the principal criterion for a successful year was an increase in the area encompassed by the "Socialist sector of agriculture," which rose to 83.7 percent of the country's arable land; but the report did not indicate what proportion of this belonged to collective farms—in the true sense of the word. Grain production amounted to 9.8 million tons, sugar beets to 3.4 million and sunflower seed to 522,000 tons. Each of these figures, however, represents a decline from output levels in 1959. The area planted in corn for fodder purposes was said to have increased to 2.2 times the acreage in 1959, and production rose to 4.1 million as against 1.7 million tons the year before. The output of meat, milk and wool was also said to have expanded.

National income, according to the Statistical Office's report, increased "more than 8 percent." The number of wage earners in the national economy reached 3.2 million, or 180,000 more than in 1959. Sharp increases in wages were registered, said the report. The average wage of workers and technical and administrative personnel rose 9 percent as compared with 1959 (15 percent over 1958), and real wages increased about 11 percent (18 percent over 1958). Average pension payments rose 26 percent. During the year, 28,000 new apartments financed by State funds were turned over to the population for occupancy. Retail trade in the Socialist sector expanded by 15.7 per-

HOW BUSINESS IS DONE

"One thousand, three hundred and forty persons were sentenced for bribery in 1960 in provincial courts throughout the country. The number of those sentenced was greater than in the previous year.

"The most numerous cases were those relating to the allotment of housing and to purchasing and the negotiation of agricultural contracts. Bribes are often given as commissions. The number of bribes amounting to less than 500 zloty was negligible. The majority amounted to several thousand zloty or more.

"In the majority of cases the courts gave sentences of no more than one year, and often suspended sentence. It seems likely that this 'policy' will not bring results, will not discourage similar crimes of an extremely harmful nature, especially since the number of known cases of bribery or attempted bribery is a very small percentage of the actual.

"Another group of similar crimes have to do with so-called 'protection.' The number of cases involving high-placed protectors, who are approached in order to conclude matters which are generally in disagreement with the regulations, increases from year to year. In 1957, 101 such cases were uncovered and in 1960 as many as 604 persons were sentenced. . . ."

Express Wieczorny (Warsaw), February 23, 1961

cent, food sales by 11 and non-food products by 20 percent. The volume of foreign trade was said to have increased by a total of 33 percent, with the export of machines and equipment climbing about 53 percent. (*Scinteia* [Bucharest], February 8.)

BULGARIA

Hewing to The Party Line

A conference devoted to inspiring Bulgarian writers with the spirit of "Socialist realism" was organized by the Writers' Union in Sofia, February 22 to March 2. Much criticism was directed at writers who did not take "an active part in public life, openly cooperating in the common march of our people toward the realization of the tasks of Socialism." In an address before the conference, Bogomil Raynov, editor of the weekly *Literaturen Front*, defined "Socialist realism" as "not just a kind of mirror for the positive hero, but also an active participant in the creation and shaping of this hero, an inspirer and creator of such heroes." He also explained that "Socialist realism" does not tolerate "any stagnation or formalizing of its successes into academic stereotypes." (*Literaturen Front* [Sofia], February 23.)

The concluding speech was delivered by Georgi Goshkin, also an editor on the literary weekly. He urged writers to follow closely the policy statements emanating from Moscow, so that literature might serve to reinforce these ideas. "To place talent above all else," he said, "would betray indifference toward the social-ideological purpose of Socialist realism . . . in essence, a bourgeois-reactionary attitude. Correct policy in literature requires a skillful combination of the struggle against the manifestations of ineptness, self-satisfaction and literary hucksterism, and of timely appraisal and careful support for valuable, sound principles, and especially the reality of the new." (*Literaturen Front* [Sofia], March 2.)

Aid to Lagging Collectives

A new decree by the Council of Ministers outlines a series of measures to benefit the depressed collectives in the mountainous and semimountainous areas. The Ministry of Agriculture is instructed to sell at attractive prices a specified number of various types of livestock to these farms by the end of May. The Ministry is also to revise its plan for distributing plants and seeds and agricultural machinery in order to meet the needs of the lagging collectives in the mountainous areas. For example, within ten days after the decree went into effect at least 600 additional tractors and other agricultural machinery were to be made available in these regions. At the same time, a specified amount of additional building material was to be supplied, and pesticides were to be sold to these farms at a 50 percent discount.

THEY SOUNDED GOOD

"In the winter of last year almost all of the collective farms responded to the Prerov Appeal. They pledged to increase production by 20 and 30 percent. Even entire districts promised that they would increase the production of meat, milk and grain by 20 or more percent. The outcome showed, however, with some honorable exceptions, that these had been idle promises. And the reason? In most cases the pledges had been born in the offices of the collective farms, and in some cases . . . even in the offices of the district authorities. The collective farm members okayed them at the membership meetings, but the tractor drivers, the cattle feeders, the milkers, the women in the fields and the rest did not echo the pledges in practice. And thus the majority of the pledges in response to the Prerov Appeal have fallen flat; the anticipated increases in the production of meat, milk and other agricultural produce have not materialized; and not a single district in Slovakia knows, to this very day, how to carry out these pledges."

From an editorial in *Pravda* (Bratislava),
January 31, 1961

During the period 1961-65, the Ministry of Agriculture will assume from 30 to 50 percent of the costs incurred by these farms for livestock breeding, seeding material, machines and equipment, fertilizers and building material used in the construction of buildings for economic purposes. It will assume the same proportion of all expenses incurred by collectives in these regions for improving common pastures, land reclamation and the construction of roads. Credits will be liberalized and the time limit on existing debts extended. The total amount of economic assistance to be given to these lagging mountainous collectives was estimated at 130 million *leva* annually. (*Rabotnichesko Delo* [Sofia], February 18.)

Incentives for Shepherds and Herdsmen

The serious state of livestock breeding has brought another government decree, this time aimed at the people who take care of the cattle in the collective farms. According to Radio Sofia, February 20, the decree seeks to improve the wages and working conditions of the shepherds and herdsmen. Collective farm managers are instructed to put whole families in charge of the larger herds in order that the men not be separated from their families for long periods. They are to be given one day of rest a week, and supplied regularly with free boots, raincoats, tents and other necessary equipment.

May 6 was proclaimed as Day of the Shepherd and Herdsman. Local authorities will organize celebrations at which outstanding shepherds and herdsmen will be honored and their methods popularized.

Book Notes

Communist Propaganda Methods: A Case Study on Czechoslovakia, by Vladimir Reisky de Dubnic (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960, 287 pp., \$6.00). Mr. Reisky de Dubnic, a former Czechoslovak journalist and currently an associate of the Instituto de Direito Público e Ciência Política of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation in Rio de Janeiro, examines the policies, methods and effectiveness of the indoctrination carried out by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. He deals with such topics as: indoctrination within the Party, mass agitation, the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League, the sciences as tools of Sovietization, the struggle for the intelligentsia, and the regime's influence on the arts and artists. He devotes a special chapter to the fundamental ideological difficulties that inhibit the process of Sovietization. In his final conclusion the author argues that the disappearance of orthodox Stalinist dogmatism and the lightening of totalitarianism in the Soviet Union have made the propaganda task of the Czechoslovak regime much more difficult than it used to be. On the other hand, while the regime has failed to create faithful Soviet men, it has succeeded in generating such apathy in the public mind that it is able to pursue almost any propaganda line it desires. The author says that the fundamental failure of indoctrination in Czechoslovakia can have no political repercussions so long as potential deviationists are restrained by the image of a successful Soviet Union. The author bases his statements, analysis and conclusions mainly on primary sources. Bibliography, index.

Strategic Psychological Operations and American Foreign Policy, by Robert T. Holt and Robert W. van de Velde (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960, 244 pp., \$5.00). In using the term "strategic psychological operations," the authors define what they believe to be lacking in this country—a co-ordinated, continuous process which can be readily adapted to constantly changing international situations. The book is in two

parts. In the first the authors discuss the policy, research and organizational requirements for effective propaganda. They analyze the present structure of U S psychological operations, and present their own proposals. Part two consists of three case studies illustrating the points made in part one: the American psychological operations in Italy in 1943-45, operations during the 1948 Italian elections, and Radio Free Europe's operations directed at Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Hungary. Index.

Is Peaceful Co-existence Possible? by Lord Lindsay of Birker (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1960, 252 pp., \$5.00). In August 1956, the author sent a paper to officials in Peiping and Moscow suggesting that a serious discussion of the mutual suspicions between the Communist and non-Communist powers could be very useful in providing a theoretical foundation for peaceful co-existence. Both Peiping and Moscow expressed a willingness to cooperate. Lord Lindsay then prepared his "Statement of the Non-Communist Case for Suspicion of the Communist Powers," asking questions on the following issues: the satellite States, German re-armament, the Korean War, colonialism, and the nature of the Communist system. Thereupon the Chinese and Soviet representatives refused to continue with the project. Part I of his book consists of the first paper sent to Peiping and Moscow. Part II is the "Statement of the Non-Communist Case" which the Communists refused to answer. Part III contains the author's conclusions and suggestions as to what the leaders of democratic nations should do to achieve a reasonable discussion with the Communists. He recommends neither passivity nor neutralism. A postscript to the book considers the implications of the recent U-2 incident. Author Lindsay has taught Economics at Yenching University, Peking, was Press Attaché of the British Embassy in Chungking and is currently Professor of Far Eastern Studies at the American University in Washington.

Soviet Leaders and Mastery Over Man, by Hadley Cantril (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1960, 173 pp., \$4.00 cloth, \$1.65 paper). This book has grown out of the work of the Institute for International Social Research, of which Mr. Cantril is Senior Counsellor in addition to being a Research Associate in the Department of Psychology at Princeton University. He analyzes Soviet ideology in its relation to the structure of Soviet society and shows that life in the Soviet Union is "founded on a series of interconnected assumptions about the very nature of man, and that once the initial premise is granted, the Communist dogma is, for Soviet citizens, inescapable." In addition to his analysis of the Soviet system, the author also presents a series of contrasts with the Western thought and practice, suggesting at the same time some new approaches to the Soviet problem. Index.

Guide to Jewish History Under Nazi Impact, by Jacob Robinson and Philip Friedman (Jerusalem: Yan Washem Martyrs' and Heroes' Memorial Authority and New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 1960, 425 pp.). This book is the first volume of a bibliographical series on Jewish history between the years 1933 and 1945. "Every aspect of the Catastrophe—its roots and factors, each stage and accompanying process, each method and form of the Jewish resistance—possesses evidence, sources, and special literature of its own. This material can be found in all languages and countries, in books, and in newspapers and periodicals. Most of it is preserved in archives and depositories. The scholar, thinker, student and researcher must be given the keys to this treasure in our generation. This is the mission of the Bibliographical Series." This is a multilingual reference book which lists 3841 entries in 24 languages; four types of material are included: references to archival sources and literature; descriptive material pertaining to institutes; documentation; and analytic and synthetic works. Indexes.



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